THE SECOND-LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECT-SPECIFIC MORPHO-SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN SPANISH DURING STUDY ABROAD.

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For my dear wife Megan. This would not have been possible without your love and support.

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Bret G. Linford

THE SECOND-LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECT-SPECIFIC MORPHO-SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN SPANISH DURING STUDY ABROAD.

The objective of this study is to examine the factors that influence the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence by second-language learners who study abroad. Sociolinguistic competence is the ability to vary one's language according to the speech context and includes the modifications we make to reflect the seriousness of the topic of conversation, the audience to whom we are speaking and our own individual characteristics. Indeed, this type of linguistic competence often differs across dialects of the same language. Hence, the linguistic input that students receive while abroad depends crucially on the region in which they study abroad. In order to better understand the second language acquisition of sociolinguistic competence and the potential effects of varied input, this study examines the development of dialect-specific variation of forms in Spanish that express grammatical subjects, objects, and the past tense; all of which have been shown to vary across and within dialects of Spanish.

A total of 22 students participated in the study; 11 students who studied in Madrid, Spain and 11 students who studied in Santiago, Dominican Republic. Students completed four research tasks at the beginning and end of a semester-long study abroad experience. The tasks included an oral interview and three online tasks: a written contextualized task, a short grammar test, and a background questionnaire. 11 native speakers from each region also completed the oral interview and written contextualized tasks.

Results show that after studying abroad, students show some development toward native-like patterns of use of the linguistic structures. However, development and patterns of use of the forms depend crucially on the linguistic structure under examination, the task, the location of the study abroad, the students' proficiency in Spanish, the students' attitudes toward the language, as well as other factors.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The objective of this dissertation is to examine the development of a specific type of sociolinguistic competence by second-language (L2) learners of Spanish who study abroad. Sociolinguistic competence is the ability to vary one's language according to the speech context and includes the modifications we make to reflect the seriousness of the topic of conversation, the audience to whom we are speaking and our own individual characteristics (Bayley & Regan 2004; Geeslin 2011a; Lyster 1994; Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004; Regan, Howard & Lemée 2009; Rehner 2002). This type of linguistic competence has been found to differ within and across dialects. Hence, the current study is designed to improve our understanding of how students are able to acquire the ability to produce language that contains variable forms. Specifically, this study seeks to examine the development of three geographically-indexed variable syntactic structures in second language Spanish by students studying abroad in Spain and the Dominican Republic.

In the following sections in Chapter One, a summary of the theory of language variation is presented, followed by a description of the linguistic variable, then a summary of morpho-syntactic variation. This is followed by a section discussing variation in second languages, with explanations of both Type I and Type II variation and subsequently a section reviewing the literature on Type II variation. Chapter Two reviews the research on the second language acquisition of the variables under investigation as well as the motivation for the current study. Chapter Three begins with the research questions as well as a presentation of the methodology used in the current study. In Chapter Four, the results of the study are presented. Finally, Chapter Five includes a discussion of the results in light

of the hypotheses and previous research as well as a conclusion that includes a summary of the findings, the limitations of the current study, as well as a discussion of avenues for future research.

1.2 Linguistic Variation

As mentioned previously, the goal of the current study is to examine the development of (socio)linguistic variation by L2 learners. However, before discussing the L2 research on this topic, it is crucial to understand how the study of linguistic variation has developed over time and research that has been done on first-language (L1) linguistic variation. Hence, in the following sections I present a brief history of the theory of variationist linguistics as well as present example studies showing what the research has found. In addition, given that the variables that will be examined in the current study are morphosyntactic, I discuss how variationist linguistics has been applied specifically to morpho-syntactic structures.

1.2.1 Variationist (socio)linguistics

For more than six decades linguists have been researching how the social attributes of speakers and the language context influence language use (see Ball 2010 for a review). However, the field of variationist sociolinguistics (heretofore variationist linguistics) began to take off with the seminal studies of William Labov on the phonological variation of vowel production by speakers from Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963), as well as his well-known study on the social stratification of post-vocalic /r/ in New York City (Labov 1966). These studies provided both the theoretical and methodological foundation for all future variationist studies. By means of quantitative analyses, Labov showed that the phonological structures under investigation were affected by linguistic as well as extra-

linguistic (i.e. social) factors. For example, he found that on the island of Martha's Vineyard, the variants of the /ay/ and /aw/ were not only related to the phonological context but crucially the social attributes of the context such as the area of residence, occupation, ethnic group and personal identity of the speaker (Labov 1963, 1972).

These and other studies have shown that inherent variability across and within speakers is a natural part of human language and constrained by a variety of factors (Labov 1972; Walker 2010). Tagliamonte (2006) states that "language exists in context, dependent on the speaker who is using it, and dependent on where it is being used and why" (3). That is to say, language is inseparably connected to the context in which it is used and discounting this fact may provide incomplete and/or inaccurate descriptions of language. Tagliamonte also states that variationist linguistics "studies the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other—linguistic structure and social structure; grammatical meaning and social meaning—those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation" (2006:5). However, in order to conduct this type of research, one must first be determine what a linguistic variable is.

1.2.2 The linguistic variable

All variationist research examines what has come be known as the linguistic variable. In a broad sense, a linguistic variable is a linguistic structure in which speakers vary between two or more linguistic forms (i.e. variants) that mean the same thing (Silva-Corvalán 2001; Walker 2010). Walker (2010) writes that linguistic variables involve "changes in linguistic form without (apparent) changes in linguistic meaning for which we cannot make deterministic statements" (15). For example, a speaker of English may

phonetically realize the word ‘sift’ as [sIf] or [sIft] without changing the lexical meaning of the word. Moreover, the variants of a linguistic variable must crucially be in variation (hence the term linguistic ‘variable’). Thus, the tokens that are included in variationist analyses (i.e. the envelope of variation) include only those in which a variant is found but where other variants are possible (Otheguy & Zentella 2012). If only one variant is found in a given context, then this context is not considered to be within in the envelope of variation and should consequently be excluded from the analysis of the linguistic variable (Tagliamonte 2006). Although it may not be initially apparent what factors constrain variation between variants of a linguistic variable, it does not mean that the variation isn’t systematic. Indeed, studies find that a speaker’s use of one variant or another is often constrained probabilistically by the linguistic and extra-linguistic features of the context (see Ball 2010). In other words, independent factors create an increase or decrease in the rates of use of one variant or another but do not determine which form will be used categorically in a given context.

Walker (2010) describes two approaches in defining a linguistic variable. The first takes a form-based approach in which the variants of a linguistic variable are two or more forms that have essentially the same meaning. This approach is typically implemented when carrying out studies on phonological variation such as the aforementioned studies of Labov (1972) or the example of the realization of the word ‘sift’ as [sIf] or [sIft]. When a speaker of English omits the post-vocalic /ɹ/ in ‘floor’ or the /t/ in ‘sift,’ for instance, the fundamental lexical meaning of the word remains intact. Function-based approaches, on the other hand, define a linguistic variable in terms of all the possible forms that serve a specific linguistic function. Thus, studies implementing this approach look at all forms

used in a specific function such as the expression of the present tense (e.g. simple present, present progressive, etc.) or mood choice (e.g. subjunctive vs. indicative) and examine these forms with regard to the linguistic and extra-linguistic features of context. Neither approach assumes categorical relationships between forms and functions, but inherent instability in form/function relationships (Tagliamonte 2006) given that "one meaning may be conveyed by several forms, and one form may correspond to different meanings" (Walker 2010:9).

As mentioned previously, the study of linguistic variables began with and continues to primarily examine phonological variables. However, variationist methodology was later applied to the study of morpho-syntactic variables. Hence, the next section will discuss the manner in which the variationist methodology has been applied to morpho-syntactic structures.

1.2.3 Variation of morphosyntax

When researchers began applying variationist methodology to studies on morpho-syntactic structures, a variety of issues came to light. For instance, one concern that both Walker (2010) and Silva-Corvalán (2001) point out is that morpho-syntactic variants tend to be much less common in naturalistic data than phonological variation. Hence, in comparison to phonological studies, relatively more data is typically needed in order to have sufficient tokens of the variants in order to conduct quantitative analyses. Secondly, it is more difficult to objectively assume that two syntactic forms mean the same thing, a requirement that was once considered a necessary attribute of a linguistic variable (Tagliamonte 2012). Indeed, this very concern is what Tagliamonte (2012) describes as the "biggest hurdle" for studies on morpho-syntactic variation (235). Both Lavandera (1978)

and Romaine (1984) questioned whether or not it was appropriate to assume that morphosyntactic variants really mean the same thing. Lavandera (1978), for example, claimed that unlike phonological variables, different syntactic forms have different lexical meaning and as such are not variants of a single linguistic variable. She goes on to mention that another problem with syntactic variables is that unlike phonological variables, each morpho-syntactic form has particular referential meaning and shows little or no social or stylistic conditioning (cf. Silva-Corvalán 2001). Sankoff (1988) points out that "two different lexical items or structures can almost always have some usages or contexts in which they have different meanings, or functions, and it is even claimed by some that this difference, though it may be subtle, is always pertinent whenever one of the forms is used" (153). Thus, researchers studying morpho-syntactic variation must be very careful to exclude in their analyses contrastive forms that do in fact have different meanings (Walker 2010).

In response to Lavandera (1978), Labov (1978) stated that "two utterances that refer to the same state of affairs have the same truth-value" and thus does not see a problem with discussing sameness of syntactic forms. Walker (2010) agrees with Labov that it is relatively easy to establish sameness of representational meaning among syntactic forms. Moreover, syntactic forms can undergo a neutralization of semantic differences in spontaneous speech (Walker 2010; Sankoff 1988). In other words, while there may be cases in which a specific form has a unique meaning and is used categorically in certain contexts, this does not mean that in other contexts there isn't variation between one form and another, that is to say, contexts where both forms can be found without a clear and objectively defined semantic differences.

Furthermore, just as the assumption that two syntactic forms have the same meaning is subjective, it may be equally difficult to confirm that two forms indeed have different meanings. For example, Schwenter (2011) points out that it is a circular argument to say that in Spanish, for example, a speaker uses the subjunctive mood to express uncertainty when preceded by the phrase *tal vez* (maybe) and the indicative to portray greater certainty without knowing what the speaker was thinking in the moment. For this reason, studies on morpho-syntactic variation tend to not make assumptions about semantic differences in meaning but instead implement a function-based analysis of the data (e.g. Martin Butragueño 1994). In other words, variationist research on morpho-syntactic structures typically examine the different forms that speakers use that serve a given grammatical function. Therefore, sameness across syntactic forms does not necessarily refer to precise sameness with regard to semantic meaning, but sameness with regard to grammatical and discourse functions (Tagliamonte 2006). That is to say, the morpho-syntactic linguistic variable need only be equivalent in terms of function or structure and not necessarily semantically equivalent (Tagliamonte 2012).

1.2.4 Variation in a second language: Learner language is systematic

Beginning with Corder (1967), research began observing that the language of L2 learners was highly systematic much like a first language. Corder (1967) proposed that L2 learners' errors are not always unsystematic errors in performance due to factors such as memory lapses (i.e. *mistakes*) nor do they necessarily reflect the learners' bad habits or poor pedagogical practices. Like L1 acquisition, Corder (1967) viewed systematic 'incorrect' utterances (i.e. *errors*) as indications of the state of the learners' linguistic system, learning strategies, hypothesis testing and development. Later, Selinker (1972)

proposed that L2 learners possess a linguistic system called an 'interlanguage,' which he essentially defined as a developing linguistic system that is continually changing (i.e., dynamic). For instance, he suggested that one way in which learner language is systematic is that learner language varies based on whether or not the learner was focusing on meaning or on linguistic forms. In light of the aforementioned studies, Dickerson (1975) published the first empirical study taking a variationist approach to L2 speaker data. She examined the development of the production of /z/ by 10 Japanese L2 learners of English. This study was in part motivated by the observation that along with native-like productions of /z/, L2 learners also produced several non-native-like variants such as [dz] in words like 'size' [saydz]. In this longitudinal study, participants completed a free speaking task, a dialogue-reading task and a word list reading task three different times over the course of a nine-month period. She found that these learners varied their accuracy of /z/ based on English proficiency (the students produced higher proportions of the native-like variant over time), phonological context (higher rates of native-like /z/ before vowels), and task type (the learners produced higher rates of native-like /z/ in the reading list task, followed by the dialogue reading task and finally the free speaking task). This study provided further evidence that variation between forms in an L2 can be systematic and as she proposed, based on variable rules.

Since these seminal papers, L2 variationist studies have expanded their scope by analyzing second-language learners' production and perception of variable language and how this is affected by factors such as task type (e.g. Tarone 1983; Tarone & Parrish 1988; Salaberry & Lopez-Ortega 1998), discourse topic, linguistic context, learning context (e.g. Collentine & Freed 2004) and individual characteristics of the learners (Ellis 2004) (cf.

Tarone 2010; Geeslin 2011a). The following sections will review the literature both in regard to the L2 acquisition of Type I variation as well as Type II variation.

1.2.4.1 Type I variation

Early variationist studies on L2 acquisition—including Dickerson (1975)—examined 'Type I' or 'vertical variation' (Bayley 1994; Bayley & Preston 1996; Mougeon & Dewaele 2004; Wolfram 1985; Young 1991). Type I variation has been defined as the variation between native and non-native forms by L2 learners (Rehner 2002; Adamson & Regan 1991; Geeslin 2011a). In other words, this line of research seeks to determine which factors influence accurate production of native forms within L2 development, hence focusing on the acquisition of what is known as grammatical competence (Mougeon & Dewaele 2004).

One of the most distinguished studies on the L2 development of Type I variation was done by Young (1991) who examined /s/-plural marking by Chinese second-language learners of English based on a variety of independent contextual factors. This study was important given that prior studies tended to include only one or two independent variables as potential predictors of variation (see Tarone 1988 for a review). By means of a VARBRUL statistical analysis, Young (1991) found that accuracy in /s/-plural marking was predicted by noun animacy, phonological environment, L2 proficiency, and redundancy. For example, the participants were more likely to mark /s/-plurality in phrases that contained other indicators of plurality, such as plural quantifiers. Specifically, these learners were more accurate in producing /s/-plurality markings on the noun in phrases such as "three cars" than "I see cars."

While studies on Type I variation have greatly increased our understanding of how learners acquire grammatical or phonological accuracy in the target language, they only examine the variation between target linguistic forms that have so-called categorical uses in the target language (e.g. /s/-plural marking) with non-target forms. In other words, studies on Type I variation examine the acquisition of accuracy in the L2 where there is assumed to be particular target linguistic forms in specific contexts.

1.2.4.2 Type II variation (sociolinguistic competence)

The same year that Young (1991) published his study, Adamson & Regan (1991) published a study in which they examined the acquisition of a different kind of variation in L2 acquisition, namely, 'Type II' (Rehner 2002) or 'horizontal variation' (Adamson & Regan 1991). Studies on the acquisition of Type II variation examine L2 learners' acquisition of "aspects of the target language where native speakers display sociolinguistic variation, that is, they alternate between [native-like] variants as a function of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors" (Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004:409). In other words, studies on the L2 acquisition of Type II variation examine variation between two or more target forms in terms of rates of use, the independent linguistic and social variables the affect these rates, and the directions of the effect the factors produce on the dependent variable (Bayley & Tarone 2012a). Hence, in addition to examining the learners' ability to use target linguistic structures and vocabulary, these studies sought to determine the L2 learners' ability to vary between two or more native-like. In fact, acquiring this ability in the L2 is an integral component of sociolinguistic competence which is the "capacity to recognize and produce socially appropriate speech in context" (Lyster 1994:263).

Sociolinguistic competence, along with grammatical and strategic competence, is viewed as an essential component of "Communicative Competence" (Canale & Swain 1980). That is, in order for L2 learners to gain the ability to communicate effectively the in target language, they must acquire sociolinguistic abilities (Bayley 2005; Bayley & Regan 2004; Bayley & Tarone 2012b; Canale & Swain 1980; Geeslin 2011a, 2011b; Geeslin & Gudmestad 2011; Mougeon, Nadasdi & Rehner 2010; Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004; Regan, Howard & Lemée 2009; Rehner, Mougeon & Nadasdi 2003). Indeed, Geeslin (2011b) points out that an L2 speaker who has not acquired Type II variation "may well be limited in their expressive ability, unable to correctly interpret language directed to him or her or, worse, he or she may project an inappropriate social image in certain contexts" (462).

As mentioned previously, one of the first studies to investigate Type II variation was realized by Adamson & Regan (1991). They investigated the variation in English between [Iŋ] (e.g. work*ing*) and [In] (e.g. work*in'*) in sociolinguistic interviews of 14 Vietnamese and Cambodian L2 speakers of English and compared their results to 31 L1 speakers of English. These researchers discovered that the participants' variation between these two variants was constrained by independent variables such as speaker gender, speech style, phonological environment, and grammatical category. However, they found both similarities and differences between the L1 and L2 speakers. For instance, they found that the L2 learners produced lower rates of the [In] variant than the native speakers. In addition, they found that for both L1 and L2 speakers, the [In] variant was more frequent when preceded by anterior phonological segments as well as among the male participants. However, although the male native speakers of English produced higher rates of [Iŋ] in

careful speech, the non-native males produced more [In] variants in careful speech. They proposed that this finding may reflect the non-native speakers desire to accommodate to the male native speaker trends instead of increasing the use of the 'prestige' [Iŋ] variant. In summary, several decades of research have shown that variationist methodologies are quite useful not only for understanding L1 development, variation and change, but for improving our understanding of the process of second language acquisition especially with regard to the acquisition of Type II variation or sociolinguistic competence.

1.2.5 Studies in Spanish Type II variation

Since Adamson & Regan (1991), there have been many studies completed on the second-language acquisition of Type II variation, but the majority of these studies have been limited to the L2 acquisition of French or English. For instance, research on the L2 acquisition of English has investigated topics such as the acquisition consonant cluster reduction (Bayley 1996) and the effects of speaker gender and speech style on phonetic variation (Major 2004). Studies on the acquisition of variation in L2 French have examined the deletion of the negation particle *ne* (Regan 1995, 1996, 1997), the variation between *nous/on* (Lemée 2003), the deletion of /l/ (Regan, Howard, & Lemée 2009) and other variables (e.g. Dewaele 1992, 2004; Iritescu, Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004; Rehner, Mougeon, & Nadasdi 2003). Only recently have studies included more languages such as Spanish (see Geeslin 2011a, 2011b for reviews). This research began primarily with studies examining the L2 acquisition of variation between the copular verbs *ser* and *estar* (to be) (Geeslin 2000, 2003; Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes 2006; inter alia). For example, Geeslin (2000) examined the variation between the copular verbs by 77 high-school-age English-speaking L2 learners of Spanish at four proficiency levels. The participants in her study

completed three tasks: a written contextualized task, a picture-description task, and a semi-guided interview. With regard to overall rates of use, Geeslin found that the use of *estar* increased over time. Regarding linguistic predictors, she found that while lower-level learners varied between *ser* and *estar* based on linguistic predictors such as the susceptibility to change of the referent+adjective combination, the more advanced learners varied between the copular verbs based on predictors such as the contrast between individual and class frames of reference. Geeslin (2003) expanded this research by examining *ser*/*estar* variation by 28 advanced L2 learners of Spanish who were language teachers and compared them to 25 native speaker of Spanish. In order to isolate specific variables and control for other, in this study participants completed a 28-item contextualized questionnaire in which semantic, pragmatic and adjective features of the context were manipulated for each item. She found that the overall selection of each form did not differ greatly between groups. However, she found that on the items in which native speakers selected a certain form categorically, the L2 learners showed variation. In addition, whereas two of the factors included in the analysis constrained variation for both groups, other factors were only significant for either the native speaker group or the L2 learner group. For instance, she found that for the L2 learners, the pragmatic factor of frame of reference was a significant predictor of variation but not for the native speakers. For the natives, the semantic factor of predicate type was significant. These findings suggested that even learners at highly-advanced levels of proficiency in the L2 continue to use language differently than native speakers. Given that this research dealt primarily with L2 speakers who were L1 speakers of English, Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes (2006) examined the selection of *ser*/*estar* by native speakers of Spanish, native speakers of Portuguese (who

completed the same task translated into Portuguese) and L2 speakers of Spanish who were L1 speakers of Portuguese. They found that the L2 learners of selected forms at rates closer to the Portuguese natives speakers than the Spanish speakers. Similar to the advanced L2 learners of Spanish in Geeslin (2003), they found that these learners favored selecting the forms based on pragmatic features of the context rather than semantic constraints. This seminal research led to researchers examining additional variable structures such as verbal mood (Gudmestad 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012), verbal aspect (Fafulas 2010, 2012, 2013), object marking (Killam 2011), future reference (Gudmestad & Geeslin 2011, 2013), subject pronouns (Geeslin & Gudmestad 2008a, 2011; Gudmestad & Geeslin 2010; Geeslin & Linford 2012; Geeslin, Linford, Fafulas, Long & Díaz-Campos 2013; Linford 2014; Linford & Shin 2013), object pronouns (Geeslin, García-Amaya, Hasler-Barker, Henriksen, & Killam 2010) and past time reference (Geeslin, García-Amaya, Hasler-Barker, Henriksen, & Killam 2012). In general, these studies find that L2 speakers show development toward the native speaker trends with regard to rates of use, predictors of use, and the direction of the effect the linguistic predictors have on the structure. As with studies on other languages, predictors of L2 learner Type II variation include factors such as task type (Geeslin 2006; Geeslin & Gudmestad 2011/2008), linguistic factors (Geeslin & Guijarro-Fuentes 2006; Gudmestad 2008; Woolsey 2008) and in some cases, social variables (Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin 2003). While development toward a native-speaker norm is evident in most of the studies, even the most advanced L2 learners continue to show important differences from native speakers in a variety of ways such as the rates of use of forms, the specific factors that influence these rates as well as the direction and magnitude of the effect they have on the structure under investigation (e.g. Geeslin &

Gudmestad 2008a). While the aforementioned research has provided useful insights into the acquisition of Type II variation in Spanish, beyond level of proficiency in Spanish, most have not examined the effects of additional extra-linguistic effects such as exposure to dialect-specific variation. This is an important aspect of variation given that, as will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections, linguistic variation has been shown to differ between dialects and only a few studies have taken this into account in their analysis of the L2 acquisition of linguistic variation. To this end, in light of the goals of the current study, the following sections will discuss three specific morpho-syntactic structures that have been shown to vary across and within dialects of Spanish and which will be the focus of the current study. Namely, the variation of forms used to express grammatical subjects (e.g., *yo veo ~ veo* [I speak]), past time reference (e.g., *vi ~ he visto* [I saw]) and verbal objects (e.g., *le veo ~ lo veo* [I see him]). Given the sociolinguistic nature of the study, the focus of the following sections will primarily be on variationist studies.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Subject forms in Spanish

The first structure under investigation in the current study is subject form variation. In the following sections, a grammatical explanation of this structure will be presented followed by the previous research on this structure within native speakers. Finally, studies on the L2 acquisition of subject forms in Spanish will be reviewed.

2.1.1 Subject form use in L1 Spanish

In Spanish, a speaker may express the grammatical subject overtly as a personal pronoun (overt SP; Example 1), a lexical noun phrase (lexical NP; Example 2), demonstrative pronoun (Example 3), indefinite pronoun (Example 4), interrogative pronoun (Example 5) or phonetically unexpressed as a null pronouns (Example 6).

(1) *Él es español.* (He is spanish.)

(2) *Juan es español.* (John is spanish.)

(3) *Ese es español.* (That one is Spanish.)

(4) *Alguien es español.* (Someone is Spanish.)

(5) *¿Quién es español?* (Who is Spanish?)

(6) *Ø*[1] *Es español.* (*Ø* is Spanish.)

There are certain contexts in which specific subject forms are either syntactically or semantically obligatory. For example, several contexts require the use of a null pronoun: The existential verb *haber* is as in *Ø hay mucha gente* ([There] is a lot of people); verbs referring to the weather such as *llover* (to rain) and *nevar* (to snow) as well as the verb *hacer* as in *Ø hace mucho tiempo* ('a long time ago') in expressions of time; impersonal

[1] The symbol 'Ø' denotes a null or unexpressed/omitted subject pronoun.

expressions such as *Ø es importante que* ([it] is important that) and *Ø parece que* ([it] seems that); and subject-headed relative clauses also require null pronouns such as *La mujer que Ø es alta* (The women that Ø is tall). Overt subject pronouns (SPs) are also obligatory in certain set phrases such as *¿Qué sé yo?* (What do I know?). Other than these contexts, there are a variety of contexts in which the speaker has the option of producing one or more forms. For instance, speakers have the option of producing a lexical NPs (third person only) or an overt SP in responses to topic questions such as *¿Quién comió la pizza? Juan/él la comió* (Who ate the pizza? John/He ate it). In contexts in which the subject referent has either been previously mentioned in the current discourse and/or it is otherwise known to the interlocutor, speakers may produce a null, overt SP, lexical NP or demonstrative. In addition, there are some contexts in which certain forms are rare but possible. For example, using an overt SP to refer to an animal and even less so to an inanimate object is uncommon but not impossible. Using an overt SP referring to a non-specific human third person plural subject as in *Ellos la operaron* (They operated on her) is uncommon, but again not impossible syntactically (Lapidus & Otheguy 2005). In sum, there are a limited number of contexts in which certain subject forms are obligatory, but in the great majority of contexts, two or more forms are optional.

Although there are several forms can be used for the subject, most of the research on subject expression has included only null and overt SPs. This research has found that the factors of person and number, perseveration (i.e. linguistic priming), switch reference, tense mood and aspect (TMA), continuity of TMA, lexical content of the verb, specificity and discourse cohesion are some of the most influential factors affecting subject pronoun variation. Regarding person and number, research finds that overt SPs occur more

frequently with singular persons than with plural persons (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Otheguy et al. 2007, 2010; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1982; Shin 2012; Bentivoglio 1987; Ávila-Jiménez 1995; Cameron 1992; Hochberg 1986; Holmquist 2012; Morales 1986; Carvalho & Child 2011; Cameron 1992; Enríquez 1984; Rosengren 1974). However, there remains discrepancies between studies regarding which specific person/number is associated with the highest rates of overt SPs. Although most research finds that speakers tend to produce some the highest rates of overt SPs with either the first person singular (e.g. Cameron 1992; Enríquez 1984; Bayley & Pease-Alvarez, 1996, 1997; Shin, 2012), other find the highest rates with third person singular (e.g., Hochberg 1986; Otheguy et al. 2010).

Another important factor that constrains subject variation is continuity of reference or switch reference. This factor refers to whether or not the subject referent of a finite verb is the same as (same reference) or different from (switch reference) the referent of the previous finite verb in the discourse. Research including this factor consistently finds that overt SPs are more common in contexts of switch reference than same reference (e.g. Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1994, 1995; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Erker 2005; Otheguy et al. 2007; Silva-Corvalán 1982, 1994; Shin & Cairns 2009; Shin & Otheguy 2009; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010; Travis 2007; inter alia).

In terms of TMA, research shows that this factor's effect may not be due necessarily to TMA but to verbal morphological ambiguity associated with certain TMA forms. Specifically, studies have found that native speakers tend to produce more overt subject pronouns with verb forms that have ambiguous verbal morphology (such as the first and

third person singular forms of the imperfect and conditional) than those verb surface forms that are unambiguous (such as all the forms of the preterite) (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Cameron 1994; Erker 2005; Hochberg 1986; Holmquist 2012; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010). However, other studies have found no such effect for morphological ambiguity (Bentivoglio 1987; Enríquez 1984; Ranson 1991; Carvalho & Child 2011). Moreover, other studies have claimed that the reason higher rates of overt SPs are found with certain TMAs is not due to morphological ambiguity but semantic factors associated with the various TMA forms (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Silva-Corvalán 2001).

Another factor that affects subject pronoun variation on a discourse level is that of perseveration (Abreu 2012; Cameron 1994; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Carvalho & Child 2011; Flores-Ferrán 2004; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010; Travis 2007). Regarding this factor, studies have found that overt SPs are more frequent when preceded by overt SPs than when they are preceded by null subjects and null subjects tend to be most frequent when they are preceded by null subjects. In fact, this factor has been found to be the strongest predictor of subject form variation in some studies (e.g. Carvalho & Child 2011; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010, 2011).

Concerning Semantic class of the verb, more often than not, studies find that verbs that are estimative (i.e. involve an opinion, judgment or view on a matter) and/or mental, psychological, or cognitive (i.e. verbs that require a mental activity on the part of the subject) are accompanied by higher rates of overt subject pronoun expression than other verbs (Carvahlo & Child 2011; Travis 2007; Bentivoglio 1987; Enríquez 1984; Otheguy

& Zentella 2012; Otheguy et al. 2007; Morales 1997; Erker & Guy 2012; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010, 2011; Silva-Corvalán 1994).

Clause type has also been show to affect subject expression. For instance, Morales (1997), Otheguy et al. (2007) and Otheguy & Zentella (2012) found a significant effect of clause type on subject pronoun expression. For example, Morales (1997) found that overt SPs were more frequent in object relative clauses than main clauses. In contrast to these findings, however, a handful of studies have found no significant effect of clause type (Carvalho & Child 2011; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2010; Travis 2007; Silva-Corvalán 1994). In addition, Cameron (1995) observed that singular nonspecific subjects favor overt subject pronoun expression while plural nonspecific subjects practically prohibit them (Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Lapidus & Otheguy 2005).

Finally, with regard to extra-linguistic factors, studies on Puerto Rican Spanish have shown that overt SPs are more frequent in casual speech, while null subjects are more common in careful speech (Avila-Jiménez 1995; Hochberg 1986; Morales 1986). Avila-Jiménez (1995) also notes that Puerto Rican Spanish speakers with higher education use overt SPs more frequently than speakers who have not completed high school. Furthermore, many studies find that women produce more overt SPs than men (Abreu 2009 [Puerto Rico]; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997 [Mexican-American children]; Carvalho & Child 2011 [Uruguay]; Otheguy & Zentella 2012 [immigrant Colombian, Ecuadorian, and Mexican women] Shin 2006 [Mexico]; but see Bentivoglio 1987 that finds an opposite trend among Venezuelan speakers). In fact, in New York City, women appear to be leading men in a linguistic change from less to increased overt subject pronoun expression (Shin 2013; Shin & Otheguy 2013). Finally, it appears that age also plays a role

in at least some dialects; for Puerto Rican speakers, younger speakers tend to produce more overt SPs than older speakers (Ávila-Jiménez 1995; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Morales 1986).

As shown the previous paragraphs, the research on subject pronoun variation is quite extensive. Nevertheless, not all the subject form variation has been explained by these aforementioned factors. Hence, recent research has not only included factors that have been shown to affect subject expression in previous research, but examines additional new factors such as textual/discourse genre (Lastra and Martín Butragueño 2015; Travis 2007), enunciative type and style (Lastra and Martín Butragueño 2015), formulaic sequences (Posio 2015), as well as lexical frequency (Bayley, Greer, and Holland 2013; Erker and Guy 2012). Specifically, overt SPs have been found to be more frequent in argumentation than narrative (Lastra and Martín Butragueño 2015), in affirmative enunciative types more than non-affirmative enunciative types (Lastra and Martín Butragueño 2015), with formulaic sequences such as *yo creo* (I believe) (Posio 2015) in addition to findings that lexical frequency may mediate other linguistic factors constraining subject pronoun variation (Erker and Guy 2012).

In terms of dialectal differences among monolinguals, the factors that predict subject pronoun variation are often similar across dialects but the overall rates of overt SP expression depend on the regional dialect (Cameron 1994). For example, on one side of the spectrum, research has shown that speakers from Spain and Mexico express overt subject pronouns around 20% of the time in oral speech (Cameron 1992; Enríquez, 1984; Otheguy et al. 2007) while on the other side, Caribbean speakers from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic have been shown to express subject pronouns overtly between 35%

and 45% of the time[2] (Cameron, 1992; Hochberg, 1986; Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Otheguy et al., 2007). Some researchers propose that the reason the Caribbean dialects show higher rates of overt SP use is because it may represent a change in progress from allowing null pronouns to requiring overt subject pronoun expression (see Ávila- Jiménez 1994 ; Cameron 1995; Mayol 2012; Toribio 2000). This proposed change in the direction of increased overt SP rates is not unique to Spanish given that it has already occurred in French (Adams 1987) and appears to be occurring presently in Brazilian Portuguese (Duarte 1993; Mayol 2012; Kemchinsky 1985). Firstly, speakers from the Dominican Republic have been documented using of the overt expletive pronoun *ello* in sentences such as *Ello había mucha gente en lay-away* (There was a lot of people in lay-a-way) (Toribio 2000). Second, several studies have found that speakers of the Caribbean do not meet the requirements of Overt Pronoun Constraint in which an overt SP should not be bound by a quantifier (e.g. Pérez- Leroux & Glass 1999 ; Suñer 2003). Third, similar to languages which require overt SPs to be produced categorically, word order is more rigid in Caribbean Spanish with a preference to produce overt SPs pre-verbally (Villa-García, Snyder, & Riqueros-Morante 2010). Fourth, Caribbean Spanish allows overt SPs pre-verbally in questions such as *¿Qué tú quieres?* (What [do] you want?), a construction which is considered ungrammatical in other dialects (Gutiérrez-Bravo 2008). If subject pronoun expression is in fact a linguistic change in progress in the Caribbean, this is also supported by the findings that higher rates of overt subject pronouns have been found among females, in casual speech more than formal speech, and among younger generations.[3] While it

[2] But see Holmquist (2012) who discusses an area of Puerto Rico that does not produce such high rates of overt subject expression.
[3] Higher rates are also found among those speakers that are more educated (Avila-Jiménez 1995) but no study has documented any type of social stigma attached to overt subject pronoun use.

remains uncertain why this change is happening in the Caribbean and not in other dialects of Spanish, Mayol (2012) proposes that it is occurring due to contact with African languages due to the high rates of migration of African people during colonial times to the Caribbean as well as the effects of stronger effects of linguistic priming in these dialects than others (cf. Cameron 1994).[4]

2.1.2 Subject form use in L2 Spanish

The majority of research on the L2 acquisition of subject form use has been done from a generative perspective (Al-Kasey & Pérez-Leroux 1998; Bini 1993; Emberson 1987; Galván 1999; Isabelli 2004; LaFond 2002; Lafond, Hayes & Bhatt 2000; Liceras 1989; Liceras, Maxwell, Laguardia, Fernandez & Díaz 1997; Montrul & Rodríguez Louro 2006; Phinney 1987; Rothman 2008; White 1985). Many of these studies sought to determine if properties the Null Subject Parameter can be acquired by L2 learners such as the use of null subjects, subject-verb inversion and *that*-trace effects. Although a few of these studies have examined the impact of pragmatic factors, they only considered so-called obligatory contexts instead of variable ones (Blackwell & Quesada 2012; Quesada & Blackwell 2009; Rothman 2009; Saunders 1999).

For example, Montrul & Rodríguez-Louro (2006) examined the subject expression of L2 learners of Spanish a three levels of proficiency: 15 intermediate, 15 advanced and 15 near-native. The participants, as well as 20 native Spanish-speakers, completed an oral production task where they narrated a story from pictures that were presented to them. They specifically examined the influence of switch reference on the use of subject pronouns.

[4] Much of the research on subject pronoun variation is discussed with regard to the changes that occur due to contact with English in the US and language attrition (e.g. Lapidus & Otheguy 2005; Montrul 2004; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy et al. 2007; Shin & Otheguy 2009; Silva-Corvalán 1994).

They found that the L2 learners were accurate with the narrow syntax of subject expression given that all learners employed null subjects and no overt expletives, but only the near-native speakers performed like the native speakers by producing more overt subjects in switch-reference than in same-reference situations. Nevertheless, this study discussed variation at the different levels in terms of "correct" and "illicit" uses of pronouns and did not examine other constraining factors such as person/number.

Another study, carried out by Rothman (2008) studied whether or not the syntax/pragmatics interface of subject pronouns was a source of fossilization for L2 learners of Spanish. The participants in his study were intermediate and advanced L2 learners of Spanish along with a native speaker group who completed two tasks: a listening task where the participants listened to recordings of native speakers using "native-like" rates of overt and null subject pronouns as well as "non-native-like" overuse of overt subject pronouns. The participants were asked to rate the level of naturalness of what they heard. He found that whereas the advanced L2 learners and the native speakers noticed the overuse of overt SPs, the intermediate learners did not. The second task was a pragmatic context translation task where the participants read paragraphs in English and were presented with a sentence in English that they were asked to translate into Spanish. The sentences to translate were either sentences with or without contrastive focus, answers to a topic question, or answers to a yes/no question. Once more, both groups of learners employed null subjects and overt SPs in their translations of the sentences but only the advanced group were native-like in that they produced a high number of overt SPs in situations with contrastive focus and in answers to *wh*-questions and very few overt SPs in answers to yes or no questions or translations without contrastive focus. He concluded that

the syntax/pragmatics interface features of subject pronouns in Spanish were learned late, but were not a source of fossilization due to the fact that the advanced learners performed like the native speakers on both tasks. However, again this researcher did not include in the analyses additional factors that have been shown to constrain subject pronoun variation and made especially strong claims with regard to fossilization/ultimate attainment given that the results are based on two experimental and highly controlled tasks.

In recent years, however, several studies have been carried out from a variationist perspective examining the acquisition of Type II variation of subject forms (Abreu 2009; Geeslin & Gudmestad 2008a, 2011; Geeslin, Linford & Fafulas 2015; Geeslin, Linford, Fafulas, Long & Díaz-Campos 2013; Gudmestad & Geeslin 2010; Linford 2009, 2014; Linford & Shin 2013; see Quesada 2015 for a review). Research on the acquisition of Type II variation of subject forms in L2 Spanish began primarily with Geeslin & Gudmestad (2008) and continued with Gudmestad & Geeslin (2010) and Geeslin & Gudmestad (2011). These studies examined the subject expression by 16 highly advanced second-language speakers of Spanish and 16 native speakers of Spanish in informal interviews. Unlike most research on subject expression, they examined all forms used to express the subject given that there was no reason to assume that L2 speakers didn't vary between all forms as opposed to null subjects and overt SPs alone. The results showed that the learners were generally able to acquire native-like use of subject forms. They found that the factors of person and number, specificity, TMA, referent cohesiveness and perseveration influenced subject form variation for both native and highly advanced L2 speakers in essentially the same way. However, while the range of subject forms expressed by the native and highly-advanced L2 speakers was the same, the highly advanced L2 speakers produced slightly

higher rates of null pronouns (70.2% by the L2 speakers and 67.6% for the native speakers) and lower rates of demonstrative, indefinite, and interrogative pronouns (4.6%) than the native speakers (8.4%). Furthermore, in some cases, native and highly-advanced L2 speakers showed qualitative differences with regard to the direction and magnitude of the effects. For instance, the L2 speakers produced higher rates of overt SPs with non-specific *tú* referents than specific *tú* referents whereas the native speakers produced higher rates of overt SPs with specific *tú* than non-specific *tú*. However, these studies included participants at one level of proficiency and did not take into account development of this linguistic structure.

Another study that included advanced learners was Abreu (2009) who studied the subject expression in sociolinguistic interviews by 10 monolingual Puerto Rican speakers, 10 bilingual Spanish speakers residing in Florida and 10 4th year university L2 learners of Spanish. She found that although the constraint rankings and directions of the effects differed at times between groups, for all three groups, subject pronoun variation was constrained by person/number, priming and discourse connectedness. All groups produced more overt SPs with singular persons than plural ones. Regarding priming, all groups favored overt SPs more when the previous mention of the same referent was also overt and for the bilingual and L2 speakers, when the previous mention was in English. Finally, the groups differed in the direction of the effect of discourse connectedness. For the monolinguals and L2 speakers, whether or not the verb was reflexive also constrained subject pronoun variation: non-reflexive verbs favored overt SPs more than reflexive ones. For the bilingual and L2 speaker groups, polarity and clause type were found to be significant constraints: overt SPs were favored more with positive polarity and in main

clauses than negative polarity and dependent clauses. Finally, the variation was constrained by speaker gender (females favored overt SPs more than males) and TMA for the monolinguals and morphological ambiguity was only found to be significant for the L2 speakers who favored overt SPs more with ambiguous verbal morphology. As with the other studies, this study did not include L2 learners at a variety of levels to examine development of subject pronoun variation over time.

Beginning with Linford (2009) and continuing with Geeslin & Linford (2012), Geeslin, Linford, Fafulas, Long & Díaz-Campos (2013) and Geeslin, Linford & Fafulas (2015), variationist studies began examining L2 development of subject expression over time by means of cross-sectional studies of university students from beginning level Spanish courses to graduate level courses. In order to examine development, similar to what has been done in studies on L1 Spanish, studies observed rates of use of subject forms across levels of proficiency as well as factors that significantly constrained variation across subject forms in order to see how they change over time and how they compare to native speaker rates and constraints of subject form variation. With regard to overall rates, these studies found a u-shaped pattern of development in which learners first increase their rates of overt SPs as level of proficiency increases then subsequently decrease their rates of overt SPs (Linford 2009; Geeslin & Linford 2012; Geeslin et al. 2013, 2015). For instance, Geeslin et al. (2015) examined the selection of null subjects and overt SPs on a written contextualized task by 180 university L2 learners of Spanish at six levels of proficiency and 27 native speakers. On this task, the researchers found a steady increase in the average rates of selection of overt SPs as group proficiency increased until the 3rd year of university study. After 3rd year, however, they found that L2 learners decreased their average selection

of overt SPs as group proficiency increased until the highest level—graduate instructors of Spanish—who selected overt SPs at a rate similar to the native speakers. Linford (2009), who examined the production of subject pronouns by 2nd, 3rd, and 4th year university students in oral interviews found a similar u-shaped trend in rates of production of overt SPs across levels of proficiency. Nevertheless, none of the aforementioned developmental studies examined the potential effect of context of learning nor any individual differences between participants beyond proficiency.

In addition to these general findings, overall rates also appear to differ based on contact with native speakers (Linford, Zahler & Whatley 2013) and task (Geeslin & Linford 2014). For example, in their synthesis of the research on the L2 acquisition of subject expression in Spanish, Geeslin & Linford (2014) show how 2nd year learners selected overt SPs 39% of the time on two different written contextualized tasks (Geeslin & Linford 2012; Geeslin et al. 2013, 2015) but produced them 28% of the time in an oral interview (Linford 2009). On the other hand, 4th year learners produced overt SPs 38% of the time in oral interviews in one study (Abreu 2009) but only 12% in oral interviews of another study (Linford 2009). Hence, although the proficiency of a given group of participants may be similar across studies, the rates of use of subject forms appear to be mediated by task type and design and should be taken into consideration when comparing across tasks and studies.

As concerns the development of sensitivity to the factors that predict subject form variation, research suggests that in general, learners first vary subject forms in a native-like manner based on the switch reference factor (Linford & Shin 2013; Geeslin & Linford 2012; Geeslin et al. 2013, 2015), followed by the previous form of the referent (Geeslin &

Linford 2012) and person of the referent (Geeslin et al. forthcoming, 2013; Linford & Shin 2013), and finally factors such as semantic class, specificity, and TMA (Geeslin & Gudmestad 2008, 2011). For instance, Geeslin et al. (2015) on the written contextualized task, learners' selection of overt and null pronouns was constrained by factors that were either unique to their level or in a non-native-like direction. In the task, four factors were manipulated for each item: switch reference (same vs. switch), person (1st person singular vs. 3rd person singular), TMA (preterite vs. imperfect) and TMA continuity (same TMA vs. different TMA). Beginning at the third year, learners' selection was constrained by switch reference and person. This was followed by TMA at the 4th year. At the graduate level and for the native speakers, only TMA and switch reference were significant predictors of subject pronoun selection. In oral interviews, Linford & Shin (2013) also found that learners' production of subject pronouns was first constrained by switch reference at the 2nd year of university study whereas at the 4th year, it was constrained by switch reference, person/number and semantic class. However, more research is needed implanting a variety of elicitation tasks in order to determine if this proposed path of acquisition is generalizable across L2 learners/tasks or an artifact of the individual participants and/or tasks used in previous research.

As mentioned previously, very little research has been done with regard to the effects of context of learning on the acquisition of subject pronouns by L2 learners of Spanish. However, a handful of studies have examined the acquisition of subject forms during study abroad. For instance, from a generativist perspective, Isabelli (2004) examined the acquisition of the Null Subject Parameter (NSP) and its associated features by 31 students studying abroad in Barcelona, Spain for one year. The results of the

statistical analysis of the grammaticality judgment tests and oral narratives showed that the learners improved on all features of the NSP and the most advanced students were the most native-like at the end of the study abroad. However, a detailed analysis of the constraints on the participants' use of subject pronouns was not presented and as such it is unclear the depth of the acquisition of the subject forms was.

As far as studies on the acquisition of subject expression from a variationist perspective, only two studies have been carried out. The first was done by López-Ortega (2003). She sought to observe subject expression development of four intermediate-level students before and after a 4-month study abroad program in Spain. She examined the variation between lexical NPs, overt SPs, and null subjects in OPI-style interviews that the students participated in four times throughout the course of the semester. In her analysis, she included the factors specificity of referent, topic continuity, hearer known reference, new versus old information, person/number, antecedence, linguistic reference, and verbal morphology. She found that the students increased their use of null subjects from 55% to 59% over the course of the semester and decreased in their use of lexical NPs. The students also appeared to develop some degree of sensitivity to discursive constraints on subject expression such as antecedence, linguistic reference, and new versus old information but very few of her findings were statistically significant. In addition, the students displayed a great deal of variation regarding the rates and constraints on their subject form variation which made it difficult to draw generalizable conclusions.

A more recent study by Linford, Zahler & Whatley (under review) examined the selection of null subjects and overt SPs on a written contextualized task (the same task used by Geeslin et al. [2015]) by 26 high-school students at the beginning and end of a 7-week

study abroad program in Valencia, Spain. Their results were compared to those of the students four instructors, eight native speakers form Valencia, and the participants of Geeslin et al. (2015). They found that the student group as a whole became more similar to the native Valencians with regard to frequency of selection of pronouns and the predictors of their selection. After the study abroad, the learners decreased their overall frequency of selection of overt SPs from 49% at Time 1 to 39% at Time 2 which was closer the rates of the native Valencian speakers and instructor group who selected them at a rate of 41%. Regarding constraints, switch reference, TMA, and person were significant predictors of subject pronoun selection at Time 1 and Time 2, but the degree of their effect became more similar to the Valencians after the study abroad: switch reference and TMA increased in significance whereas person decreased in significance which reflects the native speakers more closely whose subject pronoun selection was constrained by switch reference, TMA and TMA continuity. Finally, they found that those students who self-reported the most contact with Spanish during the study abroad were most like the Valencians at Time 2 with regard to the rates of selection and constraints on selection of the subject pronouns. Thus, the amount of contact an L2 learner has with Spanish appears to affect the development of subject pronouns in Spanish.

In sum, this research shows that L2 learners of Spanish studying abroad approach native speaker norms of variation on both oral and written tasks. However, it remains to be seen if this proposed path of development is generalizable to all students acquiring Spanish as a second language. Additionally, previous research has shown that the context of learning and student interactions in the L2 does affect development (e.g. Tarone & Lui

1995), but no study has examined the potential effect of exposure to differing dialects on the L2 acquisition of subject forms.

2.2 The present perfect form in Spanish

2.2.1 The present perfect form in L1 Spanish

The next variable structure under examination in the current study are the forms used to express past time reference of completed actions. Howe & Schwenter (2003) describe how the normative use of the preterite in Spanish is to describe punctual (i.e. bounded) events in the past, that is, to narrate sequences of events in the past. This contrasts with the imperfect which is used to denote unbounded events in the past. The present perfect, on the other hand, denotes a past action that has current relevance. Although it is difficult to objectively operationalize what it means for an action to have current relevance without knowing what the speaker is thinking (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008), the present perfect has been described as serving four functions in Spanish: describing a state resulting from a past action (Example 6), an event that has happened at least once previously (Example 7), an event that began in the past and continues into the present (Example 8) and an event that has occurred very recently in the past and is being presented for the first time known as "hot news" (Example 9).

(6) *Juan ha salido.* (John has left.)

(7) *Yo he visitado Europa.* (I have visited Spain.)

(8) *María ha dormido mucho desde que llegó.* (Mary has slept a lot since she arrived.)

(9) *El jurado ha dictado el veredicto.* (The jury has delivered the verdict.)

However, as Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos (2008) point out, the present perfect is clearly in variation with the preterite because there is "no one-to-one isomorphism." (7).

In other words, you can find contexts in which the past action has clear current relevance but the preterite is used. Although the present perfect is common in the aforementioned contexts in all dialects of Spanish, research has shown that in some regions of Spain, the present perfect is also being used in contexts where the normative use would prescribe the preterite (Copple 2011; Howe 2007; Howe & Schwenter 2003, 2008; Kempas 2006; Schwenter 1994; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008; Serrano 1994, 1995-96). Thus, whereas a native Spanish speaker from Latin America would produce something such as *hoy me desperté a las seis* (Today I woke up at six), in regions of north/central Spain, speakers produce utterances such as *hoy me he despertado a las seis* (Today I have woken up at six). Specifically, for many peninsular Spanish speakers, the present perfect is becoming the linguistic structure of choice to describe completed (i.e. perfective) events that have happened previously the same day of the utterance and this use has been increasing over the centuries (Copple 2008). In essence, for these speakers, the current relevance specification of the present perfect is no longer necessary in certain contexts. In fact, studies show that this innovative use of the present perfect is beginning to be used in past perfective events further in the past (Schwenter 1994). For instance, for some speakers from Madrid, the present perfect is not only used to express foregrounded events in the past that took place during the same day but also the day before (Howe & Schwenter 2003). Howe & Schwenter (2003) compare the uses of the present perfect in Peninsular Spanish, the Spanish of Lima, Peru and that of La Paz, Bolivia. As mentioned previously, they find that in Peninsular Spanish, the present perfect is spreading beyond hodiernal (today) contexts to hesternal (yesterday) contexts in the past among the younger generations. They found that in Alicante, Spain, the present perfect is used for foregrounded narrative

contexts when the action occurs hodiernally. In Madrid, the same trend occurs except that it also occurs hesternally. In contrast, they did not find these uses of the present perfect in the data the examined from Seville. Concerning the Latin American dialects, however, the use of the present perfect is favored for marking non-sequenced situations in the past while the preterite is restricted to marking foregrounded events in narrative contexts.

In a later study, Howe & Schwenter (2008) compared corpus data from Madrid, Lima, and Mexico City. In their analysis they included the following factors: temporal reference, plurality of direct object, presence of temporal adverbs, clause type, Aktionsart (lexical aspect), presence of *ya*, and verb transitivity. They found that the Peninsular Spanish speakers show the highest rates of present prefect use (53.6%), followed by the speakers of Lima (26.4%), then the speakers of Mexico City (14.8%). Furthermore, they found that only temporal reference and plurality of direct object were significant predictors of the present perfect in Lima: contexts for which the time of occurrence was unknown to (indeterminate) and contexts for which the time of occurrence was irrelevant favored the present perfect whereas before today reference disfavored the present perfect. With regard to plurality, plural direct objects favored the present perfect while singular objects disfavored the present perfect. In contrast, the present perfect is favored in every context among the Madrid speakers except prehodiernal (before today) contexts while the present perfect is not favored in any context among the speakers of Mexico City. The speakers from Lima are similar to the speakers from Madrid in that both groups favor the present perfect in irrelevant and indeterminate contexts whereas the speakers from Mexico City do not.

Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos (2008) also published a study where they compared the use of the present perfect among Mexican and Peninsular speakers making the claim that they are in different stages of the grammaticalization of the present perfect. They propose that the present perfect is becoming the default form to express the past perfective in Peninsular Spanish. Although they find that variation between the preterite and present perfect is constrained by temporal reference, type of temporal adverbials, object number, clause type, punctuality for both the Mexican speakers and the Peninsular Spanish speakers, similar to Howe & Schwenter (2008), the direction of the effect is not always the same. Both dialects favor the present perfect when accompanied by approximate adverbials (e.g. *esta semana*, this week) and frequency adverbials (e.g. *siempre*, always), when the temporal reference is irrelevant (i.e. "cannot be queried by ¿cuándo? 'when" Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008:18) or indeterminate and with plural objects. However, only in the Mexican data do yes-no questions and relative clauses (clause type) as well as durative aspect (aktionsart) favor the present perfect. In peninsular Spanish, these factors are not significant but the presence of *ya* (already, finally, now) favors the present perfect. In addition, in peninsular Spanish, completed actions that occurred previously the same day favor the present prefect but not in Mexican Spanish.

In sum, the previous research on the present perfect in variation with the preterite has shown that speakers of north/central Peninsular Spanish employ the present perfect in an innovative manner that is unlike any Latin American dialect of Spanish as well as southern Spain. Specifically, these speakers employ the present perfect to denote completed actions that occurred previously the same day as well as the day before (Howe & Schwenter 2003, 2008; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). However, the question

remains as to whether or not this unique use of the present perfect in Spain would affect the L2 acquisition of this structure.

2.2.2 The present perfect form in L2 Spanish

With regard to the L2 acquisition of past time reference by L2 speakers of Spanish, studies have almost exclusively examined the variation between the preterite and imperfect forms with little or no mention of the L2 acquisition of the present perfect (Cadierno 2000; Camps 2000; Cuza 2010; Liskin-Gasparro 2000; Lopez-Ortega 2000; Montrul & Slabakova 2003; Slabakova & Montrul 2001). Indeed, Salaberry (2000) suggests that in their acquisition of past time reference, L2 learners of Spanish begin by employing the preterite forms as the default for past time reference followed by variation between forms based on aspectual features. Only a few studies, such as Kanwit, Fafulas, and Geeslin (2015) and Geeslin, García-Amaya, Hasler, Henrikson & Killam (2012) have taken a variationist approach to examine the L2 acquisition of Type II variation between the preterite and present perfect. Geeslin et al. (2012) examined the development of the rates of and constraints on variation between the present perfect and the preterite in Spanish by 33 high-school-age L2 learners during a 7-week study abroad in León, Spain. The participants completed three written contextualized tasks at the beginning, middle, and end of the study abroad experience. Each item in the tasks were manipulated for time of action (one hour ago, today, one week ago, one year ago or more), verb predicate telicity (telic or atelic), anteriority (does the predicate have explicit consequences in the present) and background information (whether or not the predicate accompanied by another predicate in the imperfect). The results showed that in terms of overall frequency of selection, both the L2 learner participants (at all three data collection times) and native speakers selected

more preterite forms than present perfect forms. However, the L2 learners never selected the preterite at a rate as high as the native speakers who selected the preterite 70.5% of the time. At the beginning and middle of the study abroad, the L2 learners selected the present perfect about 40% of the time but decreased their selection of present perfect to about 35% at the end of the study abroad which more closely reflected the native speaker average of 30%. With regard to constraints on form selection, it was found that at the beginning of the study abroad the telicity of the verb and years of study were significant predictors of form selection. At the second data collection time, the same predictors plus background and improvement on the level test were found to be significant predictors of form selection. Finally, at the end of the study abroad, telicity was no longer significant but time of action, years of study, experience abroad, and improvement on the level test were. The only significant predictor for the native speakers was time of action where, as expected, they selected more present perfect forms with events that happened within the same day as the utterance. As mentioned previously, at the end of the study abroad, the factor time of action was significant for the L2 learners and even though the frequencies of selection were not always the same within the categories of this variable for the L2 learners and the native speakers, the direction of the effect was the same as for the native speakers: more present perfect forms were selected for today contexts than for other contexts. However, this study only included one task (the WCT) and did not include a group that studied abroad in a different dialectal region.

Kanwit et al. (2015) used similar methodology with a similar learner group in their analysis of the L2 acquisition of the present perfect, present progressive and copula contrast by 46 high-school L2 learners of Spanish studying abroad in Spain and Mexico for seven

weeks. They administered written contextualized tasks before and after a study abroad. For the present perfect items, they manipulated temporal reference (today, yesterday, before today, undetermined), the lexical aspect of the verb (telic vs. atelic) and the adverb (frequentive vs. not). They found that both groups of learners studying abroad in each region selected more present perfect after the study abroad which approached the rates of the native speakers of Spain but moved further away from the rates of the speakers from Mexico. With regard to the predictors of selection, the group studying abroad in Mexico approached the native speakers of the area after the study abroad by a) favoring the present perfect in hodiernal contexts less and b) favoring it more strongly in before yesterday and indeterminate contexts. The learners studying abroad in Spain also more like the Spaniard participants regarding their selection after the study abroad given that temporal reference became a significant predictor of present perfect selection and in the same direction as the native speakers of the regions: more present perfect in hodiernal and undetermined contexts. However, these results and the results of the previously summarized study are based solely on written contextualized tasks and it remains unclear whether or not the learners would behave similarly when performing other tasks such as those that require spontaneous oral production.

2.3 Object pronoun use in Spanish

2.3.1 Object pronoun use in L1 Spanish

Object pronouns in Spanish may be marked for gender, number, formality and case. Object pronouns with first person referents (accusative and dative) are marked for number; object pronouns with second person referents are marked for number and formality; and third person object pronouns are marked for number and gender in the accusative case but

only number in the dative case. The following Table 1 shows the forms used for each referent.

Table 1

Object pronoun forms in Spanish

		Number			
		Singular		Plural	
Person		masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
First		*me*		*nos*	
Second	informal	*te*		*os*	
	formal	*lo*	*la*	*los*	*las*
Third	accusative	*lo*	*la*	*los*	*las*
	dative	*le*		*les*	

However, the previous description of object pronouns does not entirely capture native speakers' use of object pronouns. In the first place, only in regions of Spain is the second person plural marked for formality. In most regions of Latin America, southern Spain and the Canary Islands, the *os* form is not commonly used. Instead, the second person formal pronouns (*los* and *las*) are used in both formal and informal contexts. Second, research has shown that in some dialects of Spanish, speakers use the third person object pronouns *lo*(*s*) and *la*(*s*) in dative contexts as in Example 10 and/or produce the third person indirect object pronoun *le(s)* is used in accusative contexts as in Example 11.

(10) *Yo la dije la verdad*

I her [dative] told the truth

'I told her the truth'

(11) *Yo le veo*

I him [accusative] see

'I see him'

Pertinent to the current study is the latter phenomenon which has come to be known as *leísmo*. In the previous Example 11, the referent 'him' is expressed by *le* which, in the majority of Spanish dialects, expresses a referent that is an indirect object or in the dative case. However, in the previous context, the *le* is semantically in the accusative case. *Leísmo* has been studied extensively especially form a sociolinguistic perspective given that in the majority of cases, the use of *le(s)* in accusative contexts is often not categorical, but constrained by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. An early study on *leísmo* was carried out by García & Otheguy (1977). They examined the responses of 200 informants from Argentina, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Spain on a 39-item fill in the missing (accusative) object pronoun task in which seven factors were manipulated. They found that speakers from Spain overwhelmingly used *le* on the task while speakers from all other dialects used *le* 41% of the time or less. In addition, they found that in all dialects, the rates of *le* were higher for objects of unknown gender; with male referents (which was the strongest among the peninsular Spanish speakers); and finally *le* was more frequent in contexts where the grammatical subject was inanimate. They conclude that instead of marking case, *le* is used to denote the semantic meaning of "less active participant" (than the subject) while *lo*/*la* denote the "least active participant" (García & Otheguy 1977:70).

Some time later, Cortéz Rodríguez (1992) examined the oral production of the object pronouns *lo*(*s*), *la*(*s*), and *le(s)* by 36 speakers from León, Spain. He found that these speakers used *le(s)* in accusative contexts more often with male (like García & Otheguy

1997) and singular referents. He also found that speakers used *la*(*s*) in dative (indirect object) contexts (i.e. *laísmo*) more often with feminine human referents. Moreover, he found that both *laísmo* and *leísmo* were produced most often among speakers of the lowest social class and *laísmo* was more common among female and older speakers. *Loísmo* (the use of the pronoun *lo*(*s*) in dative contexts), on the other hand, was not attested in the data. Hence, the use of *le* in accusative contexts was found to not only be constrained by linguistic factors, but social factors as well.

A few years later, Delbeque & Lamiroy (1996) examined a 100,000 words corpus of peninsular Spanish speakers and found that *leísmo* occured more often with animate, male referents than with inanimate or female referents (similar to both studies previously discussed). However, they later state that these factors don't appear to account for all the uses of *le* since many instances of *leísmo* were found outside these contexts. Similar to García & Otheguy (1977), they conclude that "the opposition in Spanish between accusative and dative is a fuzzy one, in which (one of) the participant(s) distinct from the subject is either presented as a mere patient of the process by means of the accusative or is attributed a more salient position by means of the dative case" (109).

Finally, Klein-Andreu (2000) summarized several years of research on the use of object pronouns in a variety of dialects of Peninsular Spanish. She examined 50 hours of conversation by speakers from five different cities in Spain: Toledo, Valladolid, Burgos, Soria, and Logroño. Similar to the research of others, she found that neither case nor gender is always distinguished by the object pronouns *le(s)* and *lo*(*s*)/*la*(*s*). In addition, she found great differences between speakers residing in different regions of Spain. On one end of the spectrum, similar to the textbook description of the use of object pronouns, the speakers

from Soria and Logroño appeared to use *le* to assign the grammatical case of the referent (i.e. it only occurs in dative contexts). On the other hand, in the more innovative dialects of Valladolid and Burgos, case no longer determined the use of *le(s)* but instead is based on the gender of the referent as found in other studies; it occurs in the accusative context almost categorically when the referent is masculine. She also found that in all dialects, animacy and discreteness play an important role at least among objects that have masculine referents: *le* is used most often with animate and discrete (countable) objects. She concludes that for the more innovative dialects, the use of *le(s)* can be interpreted as meaning "individuated (masculine)" and *lo* as "non-individuated (masculine)" (Klein-Andreu 2000:174).

Some studies appear to show that *leísmo* not only occurs in Spain but in dialects of Latin America as well. For instance, the Latin American participants in the García & Otheguy (1977) study employed *le(s)* in supposed accusative contexts. However, De Mello (1997, 2002) shows how this apparent *leísmo* is not '*leísmo real*.' He shows how the so-called *leísmo* of Latin America is a result of factors which are unrelated to the factors that predict *leísmo* in peninsular Spanish dialects. For example, he claims it is a misunderstanding of the syntactic function of *le* when accompanying certain verbs which allow for differing semantic interpretations. Some verbs may be either monotransitive (requiring one object) or ditransitive (requiring two objects) depending on the context. For example, in De Mello (1997), he proposes that the verb *enseñar* (to teach) can have different meanings depending on the use of the object pronoun: *enseñarle* means *'comunicarle'* (to communicate [something] to someone) while *enseñarlo* means *'entrenarlo'* (to train someone). Thus, the use of *le(s)* with the verb *enseñar* is not

necessarily the use of *le(s)* in an accusative context. Similar arguments could be made about the use of *le(s)* with the verb *ayudar* (to help). He also explains how the use of *le* in impersonal *se le* constructions, the alternation between *le*/*lo* with verbs of emotion, *leísmo* de cortesía (politeness), and finally *le* used in accusative contexts in dialects in contact with indigenous languages are not examples of *leísmo* as found in Spain. He states that these are other unrelated uses of *le* that are unrelated to *leísmo real*.[5]

In sum, studies have shown that in regions of Spain, variation between *lo*(*s*)/*la*(*s*) and *le(s)* in accusative contexts is constrained by factors such as the number, gender, animacy, and countability of the referent as well as extra-linguistic factors such as speaker gender and social class. In regions in which these forms are in variation, *le(s)* tends to be more frequent with referents that are singular, masculine, animate and countable as well as by male speakers and speakers from lower social classes. Furthermore, although some studies claim that *leísmo* also occurs in parts of Latin America, this may be either a misinterpretation of the semantic context or a different type of *leísmo* altogether than that occurring in Spain. As with the previous structures, it is unclear the affect that unique uses of 3rd person object pronouns would affect the acquisition of the pronouns especially given the fact that in most language classes and textbooks, the prescriptive uses of object pronouns denoting case are presented. However, as will be discussed in the subsequent section, some studies have begun to examine the effects of exposure to *leísmo* on the L2 acquisition of object pronouns in Spanish.

[5] See Paredes & Valdes (2008) for an alternative view with regard to *leísmo* occurring among Andean-Spanish speakers.

2.3.2 Object pronoun use in L2 Spanish

Several studies have examined the second language acquisition of object pronouns in Spanish from a variety of frameworks. Two seminal investigations on the acquisition of object pronouns in Spanish were case studies of beginner-level learners by Andersen (1983, 1984) and VanPatten (1990). Based on oral interviews, they found that both speakers had difficulty producing word orders beyond SVO as well as producing third person pronouns (i.e. clitics). In addition, whereas the participant in the VanPatten (1990) study had difficulty producing native-like direct object forms, the participant in Andersen's study rarely used third person object forms at all. Moreover Klee (1989), in her study of four speakers of Quechua found these speakers also had the most difficulty with the third person forms. These studies also found that for direct objects, the masculine singular form *lo* appeared to be the default form.

Moving beyond these seminal studies, research began to include more participants and examine development of object pronouns over time. This research has examined the acquisition of the accurate interpretation of object pronouns in object-verb-subject word order and production object pronouns in the OVS (object – verb – subject) word order (Lee 2003; Malovrh 2006; Lee & Malovrh 2009, 2010; Zyzik 2004, 2006). For example, Malovrh (2006) examined the interpretation of OVS order on a written task and found that beginner L2 learners were more accurate in their interpretation when the object pronoun was singular and when the learners were familiar with the topic. Lee & Malovrh (2009) examined the interpretation of OVS strings with learners at four levels of proficiency and found that although the most proficient learners interpreted OVS strings correctly more than 80% of the time, the lowest two levels interpreted OVS strings correctly only about

50% of the time. They also found that case, person, gender, and homophony all significantly constrained accurate interpretation of OVS strings for at least one level of learners. In addition, they found that the constraints of accurate interpretation of OVS strings differed between levels. However, these studies did not include dialectal uses of the object pronouns and discussed the results in terms of Type I variation, that is to say, between native and non-native interpretations.

Zyzik (2006) also included L2 learners at four levels of proficiency but examined the use of *le* in accusative contexts in learner speech elicited in oral interviews, video retells, a picture description task and a book narration. With regard to development, as in previous research, she found that beginners used very few object pronouns and when they did, it was in chunk-like way with verbs *gustar* and *dar*. Moreover, learners overgeneralized the dative pronouns in two-participant events which would normally require an accusative pronoun—a finding which increased with proficiency—and used indirect object pronouns almost all the time with animate referents—a finding which also increased with proficiency. She mentions that this finding is similar with *leísmo* but there remain significant differences with regard to the frequency and range of contexts where *le* is used by the L2 learners. Finally, Malovrh & Lee (2010) expanded on the previous research by including production, placement and interpretation tasks to test the accurate production and interpretation of OVS sentences by learners also at four levels of proficiency. They found that accurate OVS processing increases on par with accurate production and placement in OVS contexts, that the same factors that predict accurate processing of OVS strings also predict accurate production, that processing and production of first person object pronouns is more accurate than processing and production of third

person object pronouns, and finally that homophonous forms are harder to process and produce accurately than non-homophonous forms. They conclude that the processing, production and placement develop together as opposed to independently. Although these studies have shed light on the acquisition of the accurate production and interpretation of object pronouns in Spanish, as Maolvrh (2013) points out, more research is needed to determine the effects of exposure to sociolinguistic variation such as *leísmo*.

Geeslin, García-Amaya, Hasler, Henrikson & Killam (2010) assessed the acquisition of Type II object pronoun variation by learners exposed to *leísmo*. This study examined the development of object pronouns in Spanish by 33 high-school-age L2 learners during a 7-week study abroad in León, Spain—a dialect where *leísmo* has been attested (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992). The learners completed three different written contextualized tasks which were administered at the beginning, middle, and end of the program. The results were compared to results of a group of 24 native speakers from León. Geeslin and her colleagues found a u-shaped pattern of development as far as the frequencies of selection of the object pronouns and the predictors of object pronoun variation. At the beginning of the study abroad, the frequencies of object pronoun selection by the L2 learners were similar to native speaker frequencies; during the fourth week of the study abroad, the L2 learners showed lower rates of selection of the object pronouns *le(s)* accompanied by an higher rates of selection of the *lo*/*la* forms; at the end of the study abroad experience (week seven), the rates of selection of indirect object pronouns increased again but not quite to the frequency that they were selected at the beginning of the study abroad. As far as predictors of use, telicity was a significant predictor at all times for the learners and for the native speakers (more *le(s)* in accusative contexts with atelic

predicates), co-referentiality (i.e. whether or not the referent was also verbalized in the same utterance) was significant for the learners at the beginning and end of the study abroad experience, and subject animacy was significant at the end of the study abroad for the learners (more *le(s)* with animate than inanimate referents). For the native speakers, referent gender, subject animacy, and telicity were all significant predictors of object pronoun selection. Thus, the only predictor that was significant for the native speakers and not the learners was referent gender, which, as shown in previous research, is an important factor constraining object pronoun use (e.g. Klein-Andreu 2000). Nevertheless, this study suggests that even after only seven weeks abroad, the L2 learners' progress toward a selection becomes more target-like with regard to the frequencies and predictors of the selection of *le(s)*. However, the results were based on one task and did not include a group of students who studied abroad in a non-*leísta* region of the Spanish-speaking world.

That same year, Salgado-Robles (2011) completed his dissertation on the acquisition of *leísmo* by 40 students studying abroad in Valladolid, Spain—an area in which *leísmo* occurs (Klein-Andreu 2000)—and Seville, Spain—an area where *leísmo* has not been shown to occur among the majority of speakers. The students completed four tasks both before and after the study abroad: a 45-60 minute sociolinguistic interview and three tasks; a grammaticality judgment task where the students were asked to rate the grammaticality naturalness of sentences that included direct object pronouns; a fill-in-the-bank task where the participants were asked to complete sentences by filling in the blanks with object pronouns from a provided list; a multiple choice task in which the students completed the task by selecting the form (out of three) that they felt sounded the most natural in each isolated context. In addition to the students, 18 native speakers from each

region completed the tasks also. It was found that in the interview, both groups became more like the native speakers of the region where they were studying abroad: For the group studying abroad in Valladolid, it was found that after the study abroad, the learners increased their rates of use of *le(s)* in accusative contexts similar to the native speakers of the area. With regard to predictors of use, it was found that after studying abroad the learners became more like the native speakers of the study abroad region given that they favored *le(s)* in accusative contexts more often with animated referents and with atelic verbs similar to what Geeslin et al. (2010) found. However, he found that the students who studied in Valladolid also favored *le(s)* with masculine referents as opposed to feminine ones similar to the native speakers from Valladolid and that *le(s)* occurred more often with plural referents than singular ones.[6]

In sum, this research shows that L2 learners of Spanish studying abroad who are exposed to *leísmo* behave similarly across different tasks (both written and oral) and with different lengths of time abroad. Nevertheless, more research is needed to further explore this topic. Firstly, Geeslin et al. (2010) did not include an oral production task and Salgado-Robles (2011) included both written and oral tasks, but not a written contextualized task. In addition, both studies included only students exposed to peninsular dialects and it remains to be seen if students exposed to Latin American dialects would behave similarly. Additionally, neither of the previously mentioned studies discuss the use of lexical NPs as a potential referent even though L2 learners may well produce lexical NPs in contexts where native speakers would normally produce object pronouns.

[6] Salgado-Robles (2011) mentions how Klein-Andreu (2000) points out that in many contexts the frequency of *les* for plurals is more common than *le* for singular. Delbeque & Lamiroy (1996) also find a similar trend in their data.

2.4 Conclusion of Review of Literature

In sum, variationist studies have consistently shown the importance of contextual factors on linguistic variation. Variationist methodologies have been shown to be profitable for not only phonetic and morpho-syntactic studies in native L1 language, but on studies of L2 acquisition as well. Specifically, studies on the L2 acquisition of Type II variation in Spanish have shed light on L2 learners' use and development of variable linguistic structures both in regard to rates of use of forms as well as factors, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, constraining variation.

However, more research is needed on the L2 acquisition of Type II variation or sociolinguistic competence in Spanish given that the previous studies on this topic have often limited in one or more of the following ways: First, most studies on the L2 acquisition of Type II variation do not examine the effects of context of learning even though it has been shown to affect the acquisition of Type II variation (e.g. Regan 1995). Moreover, although some studies make claims regarding stages of L2 acquisition of variable structures, more research is warranted to confirm these claims, especially research that examines context of learning as a variable to determine if the type of exposure affects development as has been shown in other studies (Tarone & Lui 1995). Does exposure to a dialect-specific use of a variable structure affect L2 learners' development of that structure? Additionally, although sociolinguistic variation embodies a variety of structures, other than Kanwit et al. (2015), most studies examine only one variable structure at a time without comparing it to other variable structures. Examining more than one structure would help determine if the L2 development of variable structures occurs simultaneously across structures or depends crucially on the structure under examination. In addition, many

studies make claims regarding development of variable structures even with regard to exposure to dialectal uses of the structures, but other than Salgado-Robles (2011), most are limited to a single task type even though rates and constraints have been shown to differ across task types (Geeslin 2006). Hence, it remains unclear to what extent the L2 learners' patterns of use of variable structures on written tasks is a reflection of their oral behavior. Hence, research is needed in order to answer these remaining questions.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Research objectives and questions

The current study examines the longitudinal development of dialectally-indexed Type II variation in Spanish by second-language learners. Although previous research has examined the relationship between exposure to regional dialects and the acquisition of geographically-indexed Type II variation in Spanish, as discussed previously, this research has either been limited to a single Spanish-speaking country (e.g. Salgado-Robles 2011; Ringer-Hilfinger 2013), a single linguistic structure (e.g. Salgado-Robles 2011; Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Linford et al. 2013) or short-term programs involving high school students who completed written contextualized tasks only (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Linford et al. 2013). Thus, in order to further develop this research on the L2 acquisition of dialect-specific morpho-syntactic variation, research is needed that includes students who have studied abroad in different geographic regions for longer periods of time, examines more than one linguistic structure, and implements more than one elicitation task. In order to address the aforementioned objectives and gaps in the literature, this dissertation was guided by the following research questions:

1) On a written contextualized task, what are the rates of selection of forms used to express the past time reference of telic predicates, third person singular object pronouns in accusative contexts, and first and third person subject personal pronouns?
2) In a semi-structured informal interview, what are the rates of production of forms used to express the past time reference of telic predicates, third person objects in accusative contexts, and subject forms?

3) What linguistic and extra-linguistic factors correlate with rates of selection and production of the aforementioned linguistic structures?

3.2 Methods

In the following sections, the methodological design of the study will be described in detail. First, the attributes of the learner and native participants are described in detail along with details regarding the study abroad programs. The participants section is followed by sections that describe the design of each task the participants completed which includes the informal semi-structured interviews, the written contextualized tasks (WCT), a grammar test, and background questionnaires. The next sections describe how each of the dependent variables and independent variables were operationalized for the interview. This section is followed by a section describing the extra-linguistic factors that were included in the analyses of the WCT and interview data. Finally, the last two sections detail how the data will be statistically analyzed as well as hypotheses regarding what the expected results will be.

3.2.1 Participants

The following sections describe the 22 student and 22 native-speaker participants of the current study in detail. The students are first described as a group then separately based on the location of study abroad. This is followed by a section describing the native speakers as an entire group then separately based on their country of origin.

3.2.1.1 Student Participants

In total, 41 students participated in the current study but 19 were excluded due to not meeting one or more of the minimum requirements for inclusion of the study. First, students included in the study were native speakers of English only and did not report

having advanced proficiency in any Romance languages other than Spanish since previous research has shown that bilingualism can lead to unique use of subject forms in Spanish (e.g. Otheguy & Zentella 2012) as well as other structures (Silva-Corvalán 2001). In addition, only students who had not studied abroad in Spain or the Dominican Republic previously were included since contact with native speakers of a specific dialectal region has also been shown to affect the use of these structures (Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Salgado-Robles 2011). Moreover, in an effort to increase the similarities between the students' study abroad experiences and contact with native speakers which has been shown to mediate rates and constraints of variable structures (e.g. Linford et al. 2013), only those students that resided with a host family while abroad were included. Also, given that level of proficiency has been shown to affect the use of variable structures (Geeslin 2011b), only those students who scored between a 25% and 75% on the grammar test at the beginning of the study abroad (Time 1) were included. Finally, although it has yet to be studied empirically to determine if it has an effect, students who reported having received explicit instruction regarding dialectal uses of any of the structures examined in the study were excluded. Hence, there were a total of 22 students who met the minimum requirements and were included in the study; 11 SA students who studied abroad in a Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) program in Santiago de Los Caballeros, Dominican Republic (D.R. students) and 11 students who studied abroad in a CIEE program in Madrid, Spain (Spain students).

Both groups of students studied abroad during the spring 2014 semester and represented 19 different home universities from across the United States. Regarding previous university course level prior to studying abroad, one student reported having taken

courses up to the 4th-year level, 12 reported having taken up to the 3rd-year level, six reported courses up to the 2nd-year level and three reported courses up to the 1st-year level. Participation in the study was voluntary but students were informed that they would be given access to the audio of their recorded interviews, their scores on the grammar tests and, if desired, receive an informal written evaluation by the researcher of their improvement in Spanish grammar, pronunciation and fluency after studying abroad.

3.2.1.1.1 D.R. students

The D.R. students were enrolled in either the Liberal Arts program (N = 4) or Service Learning program (N = 7) at the Pontifica Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM), a private catholic university. In order to enroll in either program, the students needed to have taken 4 semesters of college-level Spanish or the equivalent prior to studying abroad. Students arrived in the Dominican Republic January 2nd and began classes a week and a half later on the 13th. The final day of classes was April 16th and the end of the program was April 30th. Students in both programs took part in regular excursions to various locations in the country. The students in the Liberal Arts program were enrolled in 5-7 classes (15-18 credits) including a Spanish grammar course as well as courses on Latin American literature and/or culture, dance or sports. Each student had a unique schedule with some course overlap with other students in the program. In addition, these students reported having some classes with Dominican students but were also enrolled in courses in which the other students were also from the United States. The students in the Service Learning program were enrolled in 5-6 classes (15-16 credits); none of which had Dominican students. All students had the same schedule of courses with the exception of those who voluntarily enrolled in a dance course. These courses included Spanish grammar

and culture, a research methods course, a course on development and poverty in Latin America, dance courses and two classes taught by the program staff: *Directed Independent Research and Capstone* and the *Community Advocacy Internship*. All students took part in a voluntary internship with a local organization or NGO such as a public hospital. Furthermore, each student carried out a research project (Capstone project) on a topic that could potentially benefit the local community. All courses were taught in Spanish for both programs. The following Table 2 provides further details of the D.R. students including gender, grammar test scores and age.

Table 2

D.R. student group by participant

Participant	Program	Gender	Age	Grammar test score Time 1	Grammar test score Time 2
Lrn_D.R._1	Service Learning	female	20	50%	60%
Lrn_D.R._2	Liberal Arts	female	21	55%	70%
Lrn_D.R._3	Liberal Arts	female	20	45%	55%
Lrn_D.R._4	Service Learning	female	21	35%	50%
Lrn_D.R._5	Liberal Arts	female	21	70%	90%
Lrn_D.R._6	Liberal Arts	female	21	70%	70%
Lrn_D.R._7	Service Learning	female	20	75%	80%
Lrn_D.R._8	Service Learning	female	20	25%	60%
Lrn_D.R._9	Service Learning	female	20	40%	55%
Lrn_D.R._10	Service Learning	female	21	50%	60%
Lrn_D.R._11	Service Learning	female	20	40%	55%

Table 3

Summary of D.R. student group

N participants	11
Program	4 Liberal Arts 7 Service Learning
Gender	11 females 0 males
Age	20.36 years (s = .5)
Avg. test score Time 1	50% (s = 15.8%)
Avg. test score Time 2	64% (s = 12.2%)

3.2.1.1.2 Spain students

The Spain students were enrolled in the Business, Economics and Culture program (N = 5), the Legal Studies program (N = 1) and the Liberal Arts program (N = 5) at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. In order to participate in these programs, the students in the Liberal Arts program were required to have taken at least five semesters of Spanish prior to studying abroad but the other two programs did not have a specified language requirement. Students arrived in Spain either January 15th (Business; Legal) or 18th (Liberal Arts) and began classes on the 27th. The final day of classes was May 16th and the end of the programs was May 31st. The students in the Liberal Arts program were enrolled in 4-5 classes (12-15 credits) with very little course overlap between students. These classes included Spanish grammar courses as well as courses that dealt with topics such as Spanish history, Spanish culture, sociology, literature, linguistics, the environment, and film. All classes were taught in Spanish and the majority of the teachers were native Spaniards but not all courses had Spaniard students. The students in the Business, Economics and Culture program were enrolled in 4-6 classes (12-18 credits) including a Spanish language course and courses dealing with topics such as environmental issues, economics, management, finances, and other business-related courses. Many of these students were enrolled in two or more classes that were taught in English but all had at least one course in Spanish. The students reported that many of the courses in English had native Spaniard students. The Legal Studies student was enrolled in five classes (15 credits) that included a Spanish language course and courses involving Spanish law, business law, law history and art history. With the exception of the language class, the Legal Studies courses were taught in English. This student also reported having only one class with Spaniard students. In

addition to courses, students took part in regular excursions as part of the program. The following Table 4 provides further details of the D.R. students including gender, grammar test scores and age.

Table 4

D.R. student group by participant

Participant	Program	Gender	Age	Gram. test score Time 1	Gram. test score Time 2
Lrn_SP_1	Legal Studies	male	20	45%	55%
Lrn_SP_2	Liberal Arts	female	19	55%	50%
Lrn_SP_3	Liberal Arts	female	21	75%	95%
Lrn_SP_4	Liberal Arts	male	20	75%	85%
Lrn_SP_5	Business, Econ.+Culture	male	21	55%	45%
Lrn_SP_6	Business, Econ.+Culture	female	21	50%	75%
Lrn_SP_7	Business, Econ.+Culture	male	20	70%	80%
Lrn_SP_8	Liberal Arts	female	20	70%	80%
Lrn_SP_9	Business, Econ.+Culture	male	21	65%	85%
Lrn_SP_10	Liberal Arts	male	19	60%	95%
Lrn_SP_11	Business, Econ.+Culture	male	20	50%	50%

Table 5

Summary of Spain student group

N participants	11
Program	5 Business, Economics + Culture 1 Legal Studies 5 Liberal Arts
Gender	4 females 7 males
Avg. Age	20.18 years (s = .75)
Avg. test score Time 1	61% (s = 10.7%)
Avg. test score Time 2	72% (s = 18.8%)

3.2.1.2 Native speaker participants

In total, 34 native speakers participated in the study, but 12 were excluded from the current analysis due to not meeting one or more of the following criteria for inclusion. In order to be included in the study, the native speakers needed to be between the ages of 17 and 24 years, not have English as a first language, be originally from and residing in the

country where they participated, and have completed the interview and both versions of the WCT. There were 11 Dominicans and 11 Spaniards (N = 22) that met the minimum requirements for inclusion. Of the included participants, 20 speakers reported having at least some proficiency in English, seven speakers reported having some proficiency in French, and one speaker reported knowing some Italian.

3.2.1.2.1 Dominican native speakers

The Dominican participants were 8 females and 3 males who were all current university students studying in Santiago expect for one 19-year-old female who planned on enrolling in the future. These participants were originally from a variety of cities in the Dominican Republic: Constanza (N = 1), Moca (N = 1), Monticristi (N = 1) Navarrete (N = 1) and Santiago (N = 7). The following Tables 6 and 7 summarize the Dominican participants' demographics.

Table 6

Dominican native speaker group by participant

Participant	Origin	Gender	Age
NS_D.R._1	Navarrete	female	24
NS_D.R._2	Santiago	female	17
NS_D.R._3	Montecristi	male	23
NS_D.R._4	Santiago	female	20
NS_D.R._5	Santiago	female	19
NS_D.R._6	Santiago	female	21
NS_D.R._7	Moca	male	18
NS_D.R._8	Constanza	female	23
NS_D.R._9	Santiago	female	21
NS_D.R._10	Santiago	female	23
NS_D.R._11	Santiago	male	18

Table 7

Summary of Dominican native speaker group

N participants	11
Gender	8 females 3 males
Average age	20.64 years (s = 2.4)

3.2.1.2.2 Spaniard native speakers

The Spaniard participants were 8 females and 3 males who were also current university students except for one 18-year-old female who was finishing her second 'bachillerato' and had plans to attend college. All Spaniard participants were born in Spain and had resided in or within 10 miles of the border of the Autonomous Community of Madrid for at least ten years. The participants' cities of residence and/or origin were: Alcalá de Henares (N=5), Alovera (N=2), Arganda del Rey (N=1), Madrid (N=1), Meco (N=1) and Toledo (N=1). The following Tables 8 and 9 summarize the Spaniard participants' demographics.

Table 8

Spaniard native speaker group by participant

Participant	Origin	Gender	Age
NS_SP_1	Alcalá de Henares	female	21
NS_SP_2	Madrid	female	18
NS_SP_3	Alovera	male	23
NS_SP_4	Alovera	male	23
NS_SP_5	Alcalá de Henares	female	18
NS_SP_6	Alcalá de Henares	male	20
NS_SP_7	Toledo	female	21
NS_SP_8	Arganda del Rey	female	20
NS_SP_9	Meco	female	21
NS_SP_10	Alcalá de Henares	female	21
NS_SP_11	Alcalá de Henares	female	21

Table 9

Summary of Spaniard native speaker group

N participants	11
Gender	8 females; 3 males
Average age	20.64 years (s = 1.6)

3.2.2 Tasks

The student participants completed four tasks at each data collection time: semi-structured informal interview, a written contextualized task (WCT), a grammar test and a background questionnaire. There was one version of the grammar test and two versions of the interview, WCT and background questionnaire depending on the data collection time. The native speaker participants completed the interview and both versions of the WCT. The design of each task is described in detail in the following sections.

3.2.2.1 Semi-structured informal interview

The first task the participants completed was a semi-structured informal interview in Spanish with the researcher. The interviews were recorded by a Sony IC digital recorder (model ICD-UX533) in LPCM 44.1 kHz/16 bit format. At Time 1 the recorder was placed on a table or desk facing the participant and at the second data-collection time (Time 2) a Sony lapel microphone (model ECM-CS3) was attached to participants' shirt. In the Dominican Republic, the student interviews took place on the PUCMM campus in either a reserved conference room or in one of the CIEE staff offices. For the students in Spain, the interviews occurred in one of the CIEE staff offices in Madrid CIEE center.

For the students, the Time 1 interview included questions regarding the students' a) age, origin, academic major, living accommodations, b) past and current experiences as well as future plans, c) family and friends, and d) opinion on a variety of matters. The Time 2 interview included questions regarding the students' a) past and current experiences as

well as future plans, b) language use during study abroad, c) friends during study abroad, d) course enrollment during study abroad, and e) opinion on a variety of matters such as classes, the program, and the region.

The interview for the native speakers included questions regarding the participants' a) age, origin, academic major, b) past and current experiences as well as future plans, c) family and friends, d) opinion on a variety of matters, and e) time spent in abroad and knowledge of other languages.

The interview questions were designed to provide the participants with ample opportunities to use the linguistic structures under examination. For instance, the participants were asked to describe the events of the day leading up to the interview to elicit the use of either the preterite and/or the present perfect in hodiernal (same day) contexts. In addition, the students were asked to describe the moment they met their best friend in order to elicit the use of the verb *conocer* (I know/meet) which allows for object pronouns with human referents in accusative contexts. Moreover, other than subject forms, the questions were phrased without the linguistic structures under examination so as to avoid linguistic priming (Szmrecsanyi 2006; Rodriguez-Louro 2010). Thus, instead of asking the students something such as *¿Qué has hecho hoy?* (What have you done today?), which could potentially prime the use of the present perfect, they were asked *¿Podrías describir con detalles los eventos del día de hoy desde el principio hasta ahora?* (Could you describe with details the events of today from the beginning until now?). The full list of questions included in the interviews as well as information regarding which questions elicited specific linguistics structures can be found in Appendix A.

In total 66 interviews were transcribed in Microsoft Word. A total of 150,454 words[7] were transcribed, of which 106,043 were produced by the participants. In order to ensure the accuracy of the native-speaker interview transcriptions, a native speaker of Spanish compared the transcriptions to the interview audio recordings and made corrections and additions to the transcriptions when the audio recording and the transcription did no match up. The student interviews lasted approximately 22 minutes for a total 16 hrs and 10 minutes of recorded speech whereas the interviews for the native speakers lasted an average of 14 minutes and 20 seconds for a total of five hours and 15 minutes. The details of the student and native-speaker interviews are presented in Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10

Duration of interviews for the students

Group	Time	N	Mean	Range
D.R. students	Time 1	11	19 min. 18 sec.	13 min. 01 sec. 23 min. 39 sec.
	Time 2	11	23 min. 39 sec.	14 min. 35 sec. 35 min. 22 sec.
Spain students	Time 1	11	20 min. 14 sec.	11 min. 29 sec. 27 min. 51 sec.
	Time 2	11	25 min. 04 sec.	16 min. 45 sec. 36 min. 58 sec.
Total	*n/a*	*44*	*22 min. 04 sec.*	*11 min. 29 sec.* *36 min. 58 sec.*

[7] This word count included discourse markers, back-channeling, incomplete word productions, repetitions, etc.

Table 11

Duration of interviews for Native Speakers

Speakers	N	Mean	Range
Dominicans	11	16 min. 08 sec.	12 min. 05 sec. 30 min. 02 sec.
Spaniards	11	12 min. 32 sec.	06 min. 56 sec. 19 min. 34 sec.
Total	*22*	*14 min. 20 sec.*	*06 min. 56 sec.* *30 min. 02 sec.*

3.2.2.2 Written Contextualized Task

The next task the participants completed was one of the two versions of an online Written Contextualized Task (WCT). Items in the WCTs were embedded in fictional dialogues between two Spanish speakers. For each item, participants were instructed to select one of two forms from a drop-down menu that they felt sounded most natural in each context. Both versions of the task included informal conversations between friends (version A) or cousins (version B). In version A, there were 31 items and four distractor items (35 total). At Time 1, Version A contained seven subject pronoun items, 10 object pronoun items and 14 present perfect/preterite items. At Time 2, Version A contained one less present perfect item and one more subject pronoun item. At both Times 1 and 2, Version B contained a total of 28 items with 3 distractors (31 total). There were eight subject pronoun items, eight object pronoun items and 12 present perfect/preterite items. Each context was manipulated for linguistic factors which will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections. The tasks were revised by native speakers from both Spain and Puerto Rico to ensure grammaticality, comprehensibility and that words/phrases weren't overly dialect-specific. Also, in order to mitigate the potential for portions of the dialogue to be misunderstood by the learner participants, less common words and phrases were accompanied by English translations in parenthesis (20 words/phrases in version A and 22

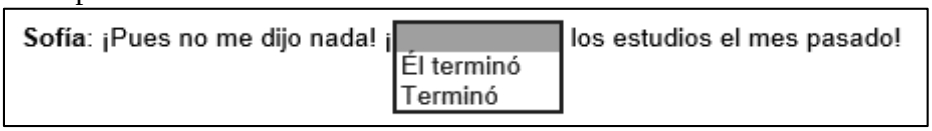
in version B). The completion of this task took between four and 49 minutes for the participants to complete. Complete versions of both WCTs in both Spanish and English can be found in Appendices E-H.

3.2.2.2.1 Subject pronoun items in the WCT

For the WCT, there were two categories of the subject expression variable: a null subject or an overt SP. All items had either a 1sg or 3sg human referent. Although 3sg allows for more potential options than just a null and overt SP, we limited the options to these two in order to balance the choices between the 1sg and 3sg items. The following Figure 1 is an example item taken from the version A of the WCT.

Figure 1

Example item from WCT



'Well (he) didn't tell me anything! (He finished/Ø Finished) his studies last month!'

As stated previously, the participants were instructed to select the phrase from the drop-down menu that they felt sounded most natural in each context. For the Continuity of Reference variable, each item was either in a same or switch reference context. In same reference contexts, the subject referent in the item was the same as the subject of the previous verb in the discourse. For the switch reference items, there was one intervening clause with a different human subject referent intervening between mentions of the subject referent. The following are examples of each context taken from the WCT in which the options are in parenthesis.

(1) *Same reference*

¡Pues no me dijo nada! ¡(*Él terminó*/*Terminó*) *los estudios el mes pasado!*

'Well (he) didn't tell me anything! (He finished/Ø finished) his studies last month!'

(2) *Switch reference*

No pude entender cómo lo hizo esta vez. (Traté/Yo traté) de ver dónde escondió las palomas

'I couldn't understand how he did it this time. (Ø Tried/I tried) to see where he hid the doves'

The person of the referent was also manipulated for each item. Each item either had a 1sg referent or a 3sg referent. The reason these two persons are included is that although most research finds that speakers tend to produce some the highest rates of overt subject pronouns with the first person singular (e.g. Cameron 1992; Enríquez 1984; Bayley & Pease-Alvarez, 1996, 1997; Shin, 2012), others do not find this to be the case (e.g., Cameron 1993; Hochberg 1986; Otheguy et al. 2010).

(3) *First person singular*

(*Yo corría*/*Corría*) *frecuentemente pero no a distancias largas*.

'(I ran/ Ø ran) frequently but not long distances.'

(4) *Third person singular*

En seguida, (*ella saltó*/*saltó*) *al agua.*

'Straight away, (she jumped/Ø jumped) into the water.'

Finally, the inherent morphological ambiguity of the verb in each item was manipulated. For this variable, all items were either in imperfect or preterite since the verbal morphology of the imperfect is the same for 1sg and 3sg whereas the preterite verbal morphology is

different between 1sg and 3sg. For instance, the 1sg preterite form of the verb *comer* 'to eat' is *comí* '(I) ate' and the 3sg preterite from is *comió* 'he/she ate.' On the other hand, the imperfect form is *comía* '(I/he/she) was eating/used to eat' for both 1sg and 3sg forms. The following are examples of each context taken from the WCT.

(5) *Preterite*

¡Corrió tan rápido! (Yo tomé/Tomé) mil descansos…

'(She) ran so fast! (I took/Ø took) a thousand breaks…'

(6) *Imperfect*

…tenía muchas ganas de ver el nuevo truco. (*Siempre decía*/*Él siempre decía*) *que…*

'…(I) was a really excited to see the new trick. (Ø Always said/He always said) that…'

Since there were three variables that had two categories each, there were eight different possible combinations of the categories of the variables. Hence, each version of the task contained eight subject expression items.[8] The following Table 12 shows the combinations of each variable.

[8] At Time 1, in the WCT version A, one of the subject expression items was mistakenly omitted from the task. This made it so there were only three items in same reference, three preterite items, and three 3sg items. At Time two, there were four items in each context for each variable.

Table 12

Combinations of the categories of each variable manipulated for subject expression

#	Continuity of Reference	Person	Verbal form
1	Same reference	1sg	preterite
2	Same reference	1sg	imperfect
3	Same reference	3sg	preterite
4	Same reference	3sg	imperfect
5	Switch reference	1sg	preterite
6	Switch reference	1sg	imperfect
7	Switch reference	3sg	preterite
8	Switch reference	3sg	imperfect

In order to mitigate the potential effect of confounding factors, several contextual factors were held constant in the context for each item. First, all referents for the items were 1sg and 3sg and as such, all were singular thus avoiding the potential effect of referent number that has been attested in previous research (Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1997; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Second, all verbs in the items were either in the imperfect or preterite. As such, the verb TMA, a factor which has been found in previous research, was controlled (Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Third, all verbs in the items were found in independent/main clauses given that some studies find higher rates of null subjects in coordinate clauses whereas other have find higher rates of overt SPs in object-relative clauses (Morales 1997; Otheguy et al. 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Fourth, all the verbs included in the items were external activities to avoid the potential effect of verbal semantic content which has also been shown to affect subject expression (Carvahlo & Child 2011; Travis 2007; Bentivoglio 1987; Enríquez 1984; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy et al. 2007; Morales 1997; Erker & Guy 2012; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010, 2011). Fifth, the TMA of the verb in each item was the same as the TMA of the previously inflected verb given that some studies show that the continuity of TMA affects the discourse cohesiveness of the context and consequently affects subject expression (Bayley

& Pease-Alvarez 1997). Sixth, many studies have shown that linguistic priming affects subject expression (Abreu 2009; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Travis 2007). Hence, all previous mentions of the referent in each item were null. Seventh, no so-called fixed or idiomatic expressions such as *qué sé yo* (what do I know?) were present in any of the items given that they often do not vary between forms (Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Eighth, to avoid the potential of an overt SP to be selected due to contrast (Bentivoglio 1987), no contrastive words such as *pero* (but) preceded the items. Finally, previous research on L2 acquisition of similar tasks indicated that 'returning to a previous discourse topic' phrases such as *pero bueno* (but anyway) or *de todas formas* (anyway) and discourse markers might also affect subject expression, so none were present in the context preceding each item.

3.2.2.2.2 Present Perfect coding for the WCT

For each present perfect item in the WCT, two variables with three categories each were manipulated to make a total of nine possible contextual combinations. Given that the focus of the current investigation is the dialect-specific use of the present perfect, all actions in the items had telic predicates since it is in these contexts where the dialectal difference between Peninsular and Latin American dialects are most prevalent. Thus, all items had verbs that were either achievements—telic verbs that are lexically punctual such as *encontrar* (to find) or *llegar* (to arrive) —or accomplishments—telic predicates that are durative such as *comer dos magdalenas* (eat two muffins) or *leer un artículo* (read an article)—according to the classification of verbs based on lexical aspect by Vendler (1967). The first manipulated variable was the temporal reference of each item. The actions in the items occurred previously the same day (hodiernal/today), the day before (hesternal/yesterday), and sometime before yesterday. Previous research on the use of the

present perfect in Spain has shown that speakers use the present perfect for actions completed previously the same day (e.g. Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008) and in some cases, actions that were completed the day before (Schwenter 1994). The following are examples of each category of this variable:

(7) *today*

Esta mañana (*fui*/*he ido*) *a dar un paseo en barco*.

'This morning (I) (went/have gone) on a boat ride.'

(8) *yesterday*

…ayer (*he visto*/*vi*) *un anuncio en la tele sobre el café.*

'…yesterday (I) (have seen/saw) a commercial on TV about the Cafe.'

(9) *before yesterday*

…la semana pasada abuela (*ha venido*/*vino*) *con nosotros para escalar montañas.*

'…last week grandma (has come/came) with us to do mountain climbing.'

The next manipulated variable was object pronoun plurality. Each item had verb with an object (direct or indirect) that was a non-reflexive plural noun, a verb with a non-reflexive singular noun or a verb without any non-reflexive object.

(10) *singular*

…esta mañana (*leí*/*he leído*) *un artículo periodístico.*

'…this morning (I) (read/have read) a newspaper article…'

(11) *plural*

la semana pasada nos (*enseñó*/*ha enseñado*) *las técnicas de escalar*.

'Last week (she) (taught/has taught) us climbing techniques.'

(12) *none*

Pero ayer (*pesqué*/*he pescado*) *3 horas*…

'But yesterday (I) (fished/have fished) 3 hours…'

The combination of these two variables with three categories each led to nine different combinations as shown in the following Table 13.

Table 13

Present perfect item coding

#	Temporal Reference	Object Plurality
1	today	singular
2	today	plural
3	today	other
4	yesterday	singular
5	yesterday	plural
6	yesterday	other
7	before yesterday	singular
8	before yesterday	plural
9	before yesterday	other

In order to balance the temporal reference variable with the variables included for the other linguistic structures under investigation, the object pronoun plurality contexts with 'none' were repeated twice which led to a total of 12 present perfect items on each WCT.

Along with the manipulated items, there were several factors that were controlled. First, all items were accompanied by temporal adverbials (within one clause of the verbs in the items) that indicated whether the action occurred previously the same day (e.g. *esta mañana* [this morning]), yesterday (*ayer*) or before yesterday (e.g. *la semana pasada*). Second, none of the items were accompanied by *hace*+time constructions given that this has been shown to affect variation between the preterite and the present perfect in hodiernal contexts (Kempas et al. 2011). Third, all items had affirmative polarity since the present perfect tends to occur more often in negative polarity contexts (Dahl 1985:141, 143 cited

in Rodriguez Louro 2010; Schwenter-Cacoullos 2008). Finally, none of the items were accompanied by the adverb *ya* since the present perfect is also more common when accompanied by this specific adverb (Howe 2006; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

3.2.2.2.3 Accusative object items in the WCT

The dependent variable for the selection of objects on the WCT was binary: an indirect object (IO) *le* or a direct object (DO) *lo*/*la.* In order to narrow the scope of the context, all object pronoun items were in accusative contexts with mono-transitive (two participant) verbs. The following is an example item taken from the version B of the WCT:

(13) *Casi no* (*lo*/*le*) *reconocí.*

'(I) almost didn't recognize (him/him).'

For each item in the WCT, three binary variables were manipulated to make a total of eight possible contextual combinations for the object pronoun items. First, the gender of the object referent was manipulated. Half of the items had feminine gender and the other half masculine. The reason this factor was chosen was because it has been found to affect object pronoun variation in *leísta* dialects (e.g. Klein-Andreu 2000). In most cases, accusative object with masculine referents are associated with higher rates of *le* than those with female referents. On the WCT, the way the participants determined the gender of the object referent was based on the previous discourse which included a full lexical NP of the referent and the options in each item included *le/la* for the feminine referents and *le/lo* for the masculine referents. The following are examples of each category of this variable with the options in parenthesis and the object referent underlined.

(14) *Feminine object referent*

Diego: *¿Qué pasó con <u>la caña</u>?* Jorge: *Básicamente* (*la*/*le*) *rompí*…

'Diego: What happened with <u>the fishing pole</u>? Jorge: Basically I broke (it-DO/it-DO)…'

(15) *Masculine object referent*

En <u>el Café Bosque</u>. ¿No (lo/le) conoces?

'In <u>Cafe Forest</u>. You don't know [aren't familiar with] (it-DO/it-IO)?'

In addition to object gender, the animacy of the object was also manipulated for each item. Half of the objects in the items had human referents whereas the other half had non-human (inanimate) referents. The variable was included in the WCT because it has been shown to affect accusative object pronoun variation for native speakers (e.g. Klein-Andreu 2000) and L2 learners as well (e.g. Zyzick 2006). The following are examples taken from the WCTs with a human and non-human referent.

(16) *Human*

(*Le*/*La*) *vi corriendo hacia el muelle.*

'(I) saw (her-IO/her-DO) running towards the dock.'

(17) *Non-human*

…por eso (*la*/*le*) *apagué*…

'…that's why (I) turned (it-DO/it-IO) off…'

Finally, the telicity of the verb predicate was manipulated. Each item was found in verb predicates that were either telic (expressing an endpoint) or atelic (no overt expression of an endpoint). Research has found that atelic predicates are associated with higher rates

of *le* in accusative contexts than telic predicates (Flores Cervantes 2002; Geeslin et al. 2010).

(18) *Telic verb predicate*

Yo (*lo*/*le*) *saludé…*

'I greeted (him-DO/him-IO)…'

(19) *Atelic verb predicate*

…porque no (*la*/*le*) *necesitaba*.

'…because (I) didn't need (it-DO/it-IO).'

Like the subject pronoun items, there were three variables which had two categories each which lead to eight items in each task with different combinations of the categories of the variables. The following Table 14 shows the combinations of each variable.

Table 14

Combinations of the categories of the manipulated variables for accusative object expression

#	Gender	Animacy	Telicity
1	male	human	atelic
2	male	human	telic
3	male	non-human	atelic
4	male	non-human	telic
5	female	human	atelic
6	female	human	telic
7	female	non-human	atelic
8	female	non-human	telic

Several contextual factors were also controlled for the object pronoun items to avoid confounding factors. First, all object referents were specific and countable given the research that finds that *le(s)* is more common in accusative contexts when referring the countable nouns (Klein Andreu 1999, 2000). Second, all object referents were singular given that some research finds that *le(s)* is more common to refer to singular objects than

plural ones (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992) whereas other studies find higher rates of *le(s)* with plural referents (Salgado-Robles 2011). Third, all subjects of the verbs in each item were animate (human) because some research finds that *le* is more common with inanimate subjects (García & Otheguy 1977; Geeslin et al. 2010). Fourth, certain verbs were excluded from the analysis due to cross-dialectal variation and/or due to the fact that the speaker could have potentially used the object as either a direct or indirect object semantically (De Mello 1997, 2002; Delbeque & Lamiroy 1996). For example, the following verbs were excluded from the items: *enseñar* (to teach), *llamar* (to call), *ayudar* (to help), *hacer* (to make/do), *entender* (to understand). Fifth, 'psych' verbs such as *asustar* (to scare) and *alegrar* (to make happy) were not included in the items since there is variation between object pronouns cross-dialectally based on semantic differences (De Mello 2002; Stanley Whitley 1998). Finally, none of the objects in the items were accompanied by a lexical NP in the same clause since it has been shown to significantly constrain object pronoun variation by learners (Geeslin et al. 2010).

3.2.2.3 Grammar Test

The third task, which was completed by the students only, was a 20-item multiple choice grammar test administered online. This task originally included 25 items but by means of a reliability test of internal consistency on the results of participants who had taken the test for previous studies (see Linford 2014), the test items that were least 'reliable' (i.e. they had either low or negative correlations with the overall test score) were removed to make the test more reliable and time efficient. All items were embedded within a fictional narrative in Spanish. The items in the test covered a range of grammatical structures typically taught to university-level learners of Spanish such as verbal

morphology, the contrast between the copluar verbs *ser* and *estar*, and preposition use. The students were instructed to select the option from a drop-down menu that completed the phrase grammatically. At Time 1, this test took the students on average six minutes and 45 seconds to complete and at Time 2 it took on average five minutes and 1 second to complete. Including the results of both data collection times for all students who completed the test, the Chronbach's Alpha of the test was .738, which is above the minimum requirement for reliable tests (George & Mallery 2012). As mentioned previously, the D.R. students had an average score of 50% on the test at Time 1 and 64% at Time 2. By way of a comparison to previous research that employed a previous (unmodified) version of this same test (Geeslin et al. 2015), these students' average at Time 1 was between 2nd and 3rd year university-level students and at Time 2, between 3rd and 4th year university-level students. The Spain students scored an average of 61% at Time 1 and 72% at Time 2, which was between 3rd year and 4th year university-level students at both data-collection times. The complete version of the grammar test can be found in Appendix D.

3.2.2.4 Background Questionnaires

The final task that the participants completed at each collection time were background questionnaires that were also administered online. These questionnaires included items that were created specifically for the current study but were based heavily on the Language Contact Profile (Freed, Dewey & Segalowitz 2004) as well as questionnaires found in Dörnyei & Taguchi (2010), Cohen, Paige, Shively, Emert & Hoff (2005), and Linford (2014). The questionnaires were used to gather data regarding the students' demographics, experience with Spanish and other languages, use of Spanish, the students' attitudes toward the dialect, culture and people of the study abroad region, and

awareness of dialectal features. Both questionnaires included 17 questions/sections that elicited the following information presented in Tables 16 and 16.

Table 15

Time 1 Background Questionnaire organization of items

Question/Section	Elicited Information
1-5	Student and study abroad program information
6-6.1	Other native languages
7-8	Previous course enrollment (K-12 and university)
9	Previous experience in a Spanish immersion program
10-10.1	Previous experience abroad in Spanish-speaking country
11	Exposure to Spanish before study abroad
12	Self-reported proficiency in Spanish
13-13.1	Experience with other second languages
14	Reasons for studying abroad
15-16	Likert-scale rating of items regarding the students' attitude toward the language/people/culture, learning preferences, anxiety in the L2, etc.
17-17.1	Awareness of dialectal features

Table 16

Time 2 Background Questionnaire organization of items

Question/Section	Elicited Information
1-3	Student and study abroad program information
4	Self-reported proficiency in Spanish
5	Motivation to learn Spanish after study abroad
6-12	Contact with Spanish and English
13-13.1	Effects of learning Spanish by students' gender
14	Reasons for studying abroad
15-16	Likert-scale rating of items regarding the students' attitude toward the language/location of study abroad/people/program, learning preferences, anxiety in the L2
17-17.1	Awareness of dialectal features

The full questionnaires can be found in the Appendix I and J.

3.2.3 Procedure

Students completed the four tasks near the beginning of the study abroad semester and again near the end of the study abroad. The two versions of the WCT were counterbalanced in that half of the students completed version A at Time 1 and version B

at Time 2 whereas the other half completed the WCTs in the opposite order. The completion of all the tasks took between 45 minutes to one hour and 15 minutes. The D.R. students completed the first round of tasks (Time 1) between January 10, 2014 and January 14, 2014 whereas the Spain students completed the Time 1 tasks between January 25, 2014 and January 31, 2014.[9] Thus, the students in the Dominican Republic completed the tasks within two weeks of arriving in the country whereas the students in Spain completed the tasks within two weeks and two days of arriving in the country. For the next data collection (Time 2), the students in the Dominican Republic participated between April 7, 2014 and April 10, 2014 and the students in Spain participated between April 23, 2014 and April 27, 2014. The mean duration between Time 1 and Time 2 for all students was 85.6 days; the mean duration between data collection times was 84.7 days (range 83-87) for the D.R. students and 86.5 days (range 82-92 days) for the Spain students. The native speakers from each country completed the tasks once at either Time 1 or Time 2.

3.2.4 Analyses

In this section, the details regarding the variables, statistical analyses and hypotheses will be presented. The first subsection reiterates the justification for the inclusion of the three structures under investigation. This is followed subsections detailing the operationalizations of each variable for the interview data and written contextualized tasks along with operationalizations for each of the linguistic factors examined for each structure. In the subsequent sections, the extra-linguistic variables will be described in

[9] One student in Spain did not complete the Time 1 online tasks until February 4 and the Time 2 online tasks until May 15.

detail. The next section provides a description of the statistical analyses. In the final subsection, the hypotheses for each of the research questions are presented.

3.2.4.1 Justification for inclusion of the structures under investigation

The dependent variables in the current study were the forms selected to express human subjects, third person accusative objects, and past time reference of completed actions. The reason these specific linguistic structures were chosen is because a) they have been shown to be variable in native-speaker language and b) speakers from the Dominican Republic and Spain have been shown to differ in terms of the variation within each structure. As previously mentioned, speakers from the Dominican Republic are known to produce some of the highest rates of overt SPs (e.g. *yo, él, ella*, etc.) while peninsular Spanish speakers have been shown to produce much lower rates of overt subject pronouns (see section 2.5.1). As for the past tense forms, in many regional dialects of Spain, including areas in and around Madrid, the present perfect is produced in contexts of completed actions occurring previously the same day whereas in other geographical regions such as the Dominican Republic preterite forms are used (Jorge Morel 1978; see section 2.6). Finally, speakers in some regions of Spain, including Madrid, employ the indirect object pronouns *le(s)* in accusative (direct object) contexts whereas speakers of other geographical regions (including the Dominican Republic) are believed to use the direct object pronouns *lo*(*s*) and *la*(*s*) (see sections 2.4)[10]. The next sections will describe how each dependent and independent variable was operationalized for the interview task.

[10] *Loísmo* and *laísmo*, where indirect object pronouns are used in dative contexts has also been documented in dialects of Spanish (see Cortéz Rodríguez 1992). While this is another important attribute of several dialects of Spanish, it is beyond the scope of the current study.

3.2.4.2 Subject expression coding

For the interview, each subject expression token was coded for four categories which are presented in the following Table 17. This and the following tables in the subsequent sections include the names of the categories within each of the variables, the number of tokens that were found in the category, the percent the tokens represented of the total, and finally examples taken from the interviews with the native speakers (with the speaker gender and origin indicated in parenthesis) along with English glosses.

Table 17

Subject expression categories, examples, and distribution

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses
Null subject (null)	10,154	70.0	*…y Ø no quería ver esa película*. (f, D.R.) …and (I) didn't want to see that movie.
Overt subject personal pronoun (overt SP)	2,160	14.9	*Ella es pequeñita.* (f, Spain) She is really small.
Lexical noun phrase (lexical NP)	1,735	12.0	*…porque mis padres querían ir*. (m, Spain) …because my parents wanted to go.
Indefinite pronoun	218	1.5	*Todos nos llevamos muy bien.* (m, D.R.) (We) all get along very well with each other.
Interrogative pronoun	34	0.2	*… quién me está esperando*… (m, Spain) …who is waiting for me…
Lexical NP + overt SP	51	0.4	*Mi familia y yo vamos a ir…* (m, Spain) My family and I are going to go
Demonstrative pronoun	125	0.9	*…y eso es su estilo.* (f, D.R.) …and that is her style.
Clause	24	.2	*No me importa dónde sea.* (f, Spain) Wherever it is doesn't matter to me.
Total	*14,502*	*100*	

As shown in the previous Table, the great majority of tokens were had null subjects, followed by overt SPs, then lexical NPs, followed by other forms. Although most of the previous studies on subject expression tend to include null subjects and overt SPs only, the

current study defines the categories of the variable based on all forms that serve a specific syntactic function.

3.2.4.2.1 Subject expression tokens included in the analysis

The analysis was limited to inflected verbs with human subject referents because subjects with inanimate referents rarely occurred with an overt subject pronoun (five tokens or less than .05% of the data). As a consequence of limiting the data to human referents, several invariant contexts were automatically excluded from the analysis. For instance, excluded from the analysis were null subjects associated with *hacer* in expressions of time, the existential verb *haber* in phrases such as *hay gente* (there are people), verbs referring to weather such as *está lloviendo* ([It] is raining), set phrases such as *o sea* (in other words/like), *está bien* ([it] is ok), and *lo que sea* (whatever/whichever) as well as impersonal phrases such as *parece que…* ([it] seems that…), *es que…* ([the thing] is that…), and *es posible que…* ([it] is possible that...). In addition to these exclusions, the only context with a human referent that was excluded from the analysis were the subjects of subject-headed relative clauses since they are almost always associated with an obligatory null subject[11] such as as in *una tía <u>que vive</u> allí* (an aunt <u>that lives</u> there). After exclusions, there were a total of 10,131 verbs that were coded for subject expression and were distributed in the following manner:

[11] There were only five cases (less than 1% of all relative clauses) in which an overt subject pronoun was used in a relative clause such as the following example produced by a Dominican speaker: *…un primo mío que <u>él</u> está perpléjico…*

Table 18

Distribution of subject expression categories among tokens included in the analysis

Categories	N tokens	% tokens
Null	7,008	69.3
Overt SP	2,104	20.8
Lexical NP	856	8.5
Other	151	1.5
Total	*10,119*	*100*

The 'other' category was created since four of the subject forms were rarely produced with human referents by the participants. These forms included subject forms that were indefinite pronouns (N=143), interrogative pronouns (N=5) and demonstrative pronouns (N=3). In addition, the first person plural tokens that had a Lexical NP + overt SP in phrases such as *mis amigos y yo* (my friends and I) were included in the Lexical NP category.

3.2.4.2.2 Independent variables for subject expression coded in the interview

The subject expression tokens in the interview were coded for six independent variables which have been shown in previous research to constrain subject expression: Person/Number, TMA, Continuity of Reference, TMA Continuity, Perseveration, and Clause Type. The operationalizations of each of these variables will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

3.2.4.2.2.1 Person/Number coding

The first factor that the subject tokens in the interview were coded for is Person/Number. As stated previously, this factor has been shown to constrain subject expression across studies and participant groups. The following Table 19 lists the categories of the variable as well as provides examples in Spanish.

Table 19

Person/Number categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses	
1st person singular (1sg)	5,523	54.6	*(yo) canto*	'(I) sing'
3rd person singular (3sg)	2,311	22.8	*(él/ella) canta*	'(he/she) sings'
1st person plural (1pl)	1,213	12.0	*(nosotros) cantamos*	'(we) sing'
3rd person plural (3pl)	808	8.0	*(ellos/ellas) cantan*	'(they) sing'
2nd person singular informal (2sg-inf.)	264	2.6	*(tú) cantas*	'(you-inf.) sing'

There were five categories of this factor. Of these categories, 1sg represented more than 50% of the data. Almost 90% of the data are represented by three categories: 1sg, 3sg and 1pl. Although speakers could have potentially produced *vosotros* or *ustedes* forms ('you all' 2pl), this never occurred in the present data and as such were not included. Also, given the low number of tokens of the 2nd person singular formal form (*usted*) in the dataset (10 tokens), they were also not included in the analysis. In addition to coding each of the persons and numbers individually, each token was coded for number (singular vs. plural) since previous research finds that singular persons are associated with higher rates of subject pronouns than plural persons (e.g. Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1996). However, person was not coded separately since the different persons allow for different subject forms (e.g. 1sg allows for null and overt SPs but the 3sg allows for null and overt SPs as well as lexical NPs). Finally, for the L2 learner participants, when the verb form did not match the intended person and number (e.g. *yo fue a casa* 'I went-3sg home'), the token was coded for the intended person and number that was determined based on either overt subject expression or the discourse context surrounding the verb.

3.2.4.2.2.2 Tense, mood and aspect (TMA) coding

TMA was the second factor that was coded for each subject expression token. As shown in the following Table 20, there were 3 categories for this variable including an 'other' category that included those verbs that were

a) a combination of two or more TMAs (e.g. *haya estado cantando* '[he/she] has been singing')
b) TMAs that were relatively uncommon in the current dataset (i.e. they represented 5% or less of the tokens). This included the periphrastic and morphological futures, present progressive, present subjunctive, present perfect, conditional, morphological future, imperfect subjunctive, and the pluperfect.
c) ungrammatical infinitive verbs (e.g. *cuando mi familia um viajar aquí* 'when my family to travel here')
d) forms produced by the student participants that have not been shown to exist in native Spanish (e.g. *yo pensí* 'I thought').

Table 20

TMA categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses	
Simple present	6,400	63.2	*canto*	'(I) sing'
Preterite	1,902	18.8	*canté*	'(I) sang'
Imperfect	657	6.5	*cantaba*	'(I) was singing'
Other	1,160	11.5	*haya estado cantando*	'(I) have been singing'

As can be seen, verbs in the simple present represents the majority of verb TMAs in current dataset. In fact, the three most frequent verb TMAs represent nearly 90% of the data.

3.2.4.2.2.3 Continuity of Reference coding

Continuity of Reference was also coded for each token that was analyzed for subject expression. As shown in the following Table 21, there are two categories for this factor: same reference and switch reference. Those coded as same reference had referents that were the same as the referent of the previously inflected verb. Those coded as switch reference had a referent that was not the subject of the previously inflected verb. This included cases where the previous inflected verb had obligatory null/overt subject expression, did not have an apparent referent, or were produced by the interviewer.

Table 21

Continuity of Reference categories, distribution and examples taken from interviews

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses
Same reference	5,176	51.2	*Como estábamos juntos en iglesia, pasamos mucho tiempo en iglesia.* (f, D.R.) 'Since (we) were together at church, (we) spent a lot of time at church.'
Switch reference	4,943	48.8	*Voy a buscar trabajo en un colegio privado y si no me cogen…* (m, Spain) '(I) am going to look for work at a private school and if (they) don't hire me…'

In the current dataset, the number of tokens for each of these categories was nearly even.

3.2.4.2.2.4 TMA Continuity coding

This factor also had two categories: same TMA and switch TMA. Tokens were coded as same TMA if the TMA of the previous inflected verb in the discourse was the same as the TMA of the current verb. Tokens were coded as switch TMA if the TMA of the previous inflected verb was different. This included verbs that were produced by the interviewer.

Table 22

TMA Continuity categories, distribution and examples taken from interviews

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses
Same TMA	6,504	64.3	*Luego regresé a mi casa. Desayuné.* (m, D.R.) 'Later (I) returned to my house. (I) ate breakfast.'
Switch TMA	3,615	35.7	*Ya murieron, eh, las mejores personas que yo he conocido en toda mi vida.* (f, D.R.) '(They) already died, eh, the best people that I have met in all my life.'

As shown, there were almost twice as many contexts of same TMA as there were switch TMA.

3.2.4.2.2.5 Perseveration coding

Tokens were also coded for perseveration of subject form. In other words, each token was coded for the subject form of the previous inflected verb. There were four categories included in this factor (the same four as the dependent variable) as shown in the following Table 23. The previous mentions of the subject form included those produced by the interviewer and those associated with verbs that had non-human and/or invariant subject expression.

Table 23

Perseveration categories, distribution and examples taken from interviews

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses
Null	7,189	71.0	*Es más perezosa. Sí. Y a lo mejor le pongo más empeño.* (f, Spain) '(She) is lazier. Yeah. And (I) probably put more effort into it.'
Overt SP	1,493	14.8	*…cuando él fue a buscarlo, él entró en la casa.* (m, D.R.) '…when he went to look for him, he entered the house.'
Lexical NP	1,135	11.2	*Por eso mis hermanos alejan el pote de mí, en la mesa, porque saben que…* (f, Spain) 'That's why my siblings move the pot away from me, on the table, because they know that…'
Other	302	3.0	*Todos somos vagos, sí. Pero ella es una buena persona.* (m, Spain) '(We) all are slackers, yeah. But she is a good person.'

The majority (71%) of the previously mentioned forms were null, followed by overt SPs, then lexical NPs and finally other forms.

3.2.4.2.2.6 Clause Type coding

The type of clause in which each token was found was coded as well. This factor included four categories as presented in Table 24.

Table 24

Clause Type categories and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English glosses
Main clause	5,253	51.9	*Todos son miembros de la iglesia.* (f, D.R.) (They) all are members of the church.
Coordinate clause	2,699	26.7	*…y yo, por las tardes, les doy las clases de inglés.* (m, Spain) …and I, in the evenings, give them English lessons.
Object-relative clause	413	4.1	*…la primera experiencia que yo tuve en la misión…* (m, Spain) …the first experience that I had on the mission…
Subordinate/Other clause	1,754	17.3	*Creo que soy bastante sociable.* (f, Spain) (I) think that (I) am pretty outgoing.

Main clauses, which represented more than 50% of the data, were those which were not preceded by a coordinating or subordinating conjunction. Tokens coded as 'coordinate' were those found in clauses that began with a coordinating conjunction such as *y* (and), *o* (or), and *pero* (but). These tokens represented about 27% of the data. Verbs found in object-headed relative clauses (about 4% of the data) were coded as 'relative.' This category only included object-headed relative clauses since subject-headed relative clauses were excluded from the analysis. Finally, about 17.3% of the verbs were found in subordinate and other clauses and were coded as 'subordinate/other.' In contexts where there was a combination of two clause-types, I coded the token for the clause that was closest to the verb. For example, the following context was coded as 'subordinate' *…y cuando estaba en el colegio…* (f, Spain) 'and when I was in elementary school…'

3.2.4.3 Present Perfect coding

In this and the following section, the operationalization of the present perfect dependent variable as well as each of the independent variables is described in detail. For this structure, there were four categories of the dependent variable:

a) *Present perfect*

   He estado en París. (f, Spain)

   I have been in Paris.

b) *Preterite*

   …*luego me acosté temprano*. (f, D.R.)

   …later I went to bed early.

c) *Other form referring to the past*

   y camino aquí. (student, Spain, before)

   and (I) walk(ed) here.

Although most of the previous research only includes present perfect and preterite verb tokens in their analysis, I included more categories since participants used other forms (e.g. present, infinitive, imperfect, etc.) when expressing telic actions in the past.

3.2.4.3.1 Tokens included in the analyses of the present perfect variable

The only exclusions from the analysis were verbs that did not make explicit reference to a telic action in the past and those for which it was not clear based on the context whether the speaker was referring to the past or another time. After exclusions, there were 2,774 included tokens which were distributed in the following manner:

Table 25

Distribution of present perfect categories among tokens included in the analysis

Categories	N tokens	% tokens
Preterite	2,195	79.1
Present Perfect	350	12.6
Other	229	8.3
Total	*2,774*	*100*

As shown in the Table, the great majority (almost 80%) of tokens are preterite, followed by the present perfect (12.6%) and then the 'other' forms (8.3%).

3.2.4.3.2 Independent variables coded in the interview for the present perfect expression

In total there were five independent variables that were coded for this structure: Temporal Reference, Temporal Adverbials, Object Plurality, Polarity, and Aktionsart. The following sections will describe each of the independent variables in detail.

3.2.4.3.2.1 Temporal Reference coding

Each token was coded for temporal reference, that is, how far in the past the event occurred from the time of the utterance. As one can see in Table 26, this variable included five categories.

Table 26

Temporal Reference categories, distribution, and examples with English glosses

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
Before yesterday	1,179	42.5	*porque fue el cumpleaños de mi primo el lunes pasado* (f, Spain) because (it) was my cousin's birthday last Monday
Yesterday	652	23.5	*ayer también, eh, inicié las clases a las ocho de la mañana* (m, D.R.) yesterday also, eh, I began classes at eight in the morning
Today	544	19.6	*hoy, me levanté a las cinco de la mañana.* (f, D.R.) today, I got up at five in the morning.
Irrelevant	254	9.2	*No, no he viajado fuera del país.* (f, Spain) No, I have not traveled outside of the country.
Indeterminate	146	5.3	*…ya me aseguraron el trabajo.* (m, D.R.) …they have already promised me the job.

The first three categories were based on how far in the past the action was completed from the time of the utterance. Indeterminate referred to those contexts for which it was impossible based on the context for the coder to determine how far in the past the event occurred. Finally, tokens that were coded as irrelevant were those for which a specific instance of the event was irrelevant because it couldn't be queried by 'when?' (see Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

3.2.4.3.2.2 Temporal Adverbials coding

The presence and type of adverbial was coded for each token as well. This variable includes six categories which are presented in the subsequent Table 27.

Table 27

Temporal Adverbials categories, distribution, and examples with English glosses

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
None	1,719	62.0	*…y fue muy importante para mí.* (m, D.R.) …and (it) was very important for me.
Specific	402	14.5	*Ayer me levanté a las cinco de la mañana.* (f, D.R.) Yesterday I got up at five in the morning.
Connective	380	13.7	*Luego fuimos también a Croacia.* (f, Spain) Later (we) went to Croatia also.
Durative	137	4.9	*…y vivimos allí tres años.* (m, Spain) …and (we) lived there three years.
Frequency	83	3.0	*Siempre me han dicho que…* (f, D.R.) (They) always have told me that…
Proximate	53	2.0	*Este año he estado en Italia.* (m, Spain) This year (I) have been in Italy.

The most frequent category was the 'none' category which referred to those tokens that were not accompanied by a temporal adverbial (i.e. adverb or adverbial phrase). Tokens were coded as 'specific' if they were accompanied by a temporal adverbial that indicated a specific time in the past when the event occurred such as *hoy* 'today', *ayer* 'yesterday,' *ese día* 'that day,' *cuando* 'when,' as well as calendar dates and clock times. Tokens coded as 'connective' were preceded by adverbials that denoted some type of connection to the surrounding discourse such as *entonces* 'then,' *luego* 'later,' *al final* 'in the end,' etc. Durative adverbials were those that expressed some form of duration such as *por*/*durante* X *días*/*semanas* 'for X days/weeks,' verb + *desde*/*hasta* 'since/until,' *por la mañana* 'in the morning,' etc. Frequency adverbials denoted that the actions had been repeated at least once such as *a veces* 'sometimes,' *todos los días* 'every day,' *siempre* 'always,' etc. Finally, tokens that were accompanied by proximate adverbials such as *ahora* 'now,' *últimamente* 'lately,' *ya* 'now/already' and *esta mañana* 'this morning,' etc, were coded as 'proximate.' In the event that there were two or more types of adverbials, such as *entonces yo siempre*

he pensado 'then I always have thought…" (f, D.R.) which has the connective adverbial *entonces* as well as the frequency adverbial *siempre*, they were categorized for the adverbial that was the closest to the verb and/or preceded the verb. Hence, the previous example was coded as 'frequency.'

In the analysis of the data, the some of the categories of this variable were combined as done in previous research (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008) in order to include three categories as shown in the following Table 28.

Table 28

Adjusted categories of the Temporal Adverbials variable

Categories	N tokens	% tokens
None	1,719	62.0
Other	919	33.0
Frequency/Proximate	136	5.0

The primary reason for this adjustment to the categories was because in previous research, Frequency and Proximate adverbials have been shown to occur more often with the present perfect than other adverbials (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

3.2.4.3.2.3 Object Plurality coding

The next variable that was coded was the number of the object. This variable included three categories: none, singular and plural.

Table 29

Object Plurality categories, distribution, and examples with English glosses

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
None	1,838	66.3	*Fui al trabajo* (f, D.R.) (I) went to work
Singular	734	26.5	*lo he cogido* (f, Spain) I have caught it (the bus)
Plural	202	7.3	*Entonces alisté mis cuadernos* (m, D.R.) Then (I) readied my notebooks

Nearly two-thirds tokens were categorized as ‘none’ which simply meant that they were verbs that were not accompanied by an object. Verbs that had a singular object were coded as ‘singular’ whereas verbs that had a plural object were coded as plural.

3.2.4.3.2.4 Polarity coding

Tokens were also coded for whether they had affirmative or negative polarity. This variable was straightforward in that all tokens that had a negation adverb such as *no* ‘no/not’ or *nunca* ‘never’ were coded as negative whereas those that did not were coded as affirmative. More than 95% of the data had affirmative polarity.

Table 30

Polarity categories, distribution, and examples with English glosses

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
Affirmative	2,644	95.3	*Me he ido a mi casa a comer.* (f, Spain) I went home to eat.
Negative	130	4.7	*No vine a la biblioteca.* (m, Spain) I did not come to the library.

3.2.4.3.2.5 Verb punctuality coding (Aktionsart)

The last variable that was coded for each token was inherent lexical punctuality or Aktionsart. This variable included two categories: durative and punctual.

Table 31

Punctuality categories, distribution, and examples with English glosses

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
durative	2,135	77.0	*Por la mañana vine a la biblioteca* (m, Spain) In the morning I came to the library
punctual	639	23.0	*…y salí de una vez.* (f, D.R.) …and (I) left once and for all.

Verbs that referred to actions that commonly occur very rapidly (e.g. within five seconds or less) were coded as punctual. All other verbs were coded as durative.

3.2.4.4 Accusative object coding

We now turn to the final structure under investigation, namely, accusative objects. First, the categories of the dependent variable is described followed by a description of the independent linguistic factors included in the current study.

The accusative object dependent variable was coded into four categories: Noun (Example 20), direct object pronoun (Example 21), indirect object pronoun (Example 22) and other pronoun (Example 23). In addition, as mentioned previously, only third-person objects were included given that this is the context in which *leísmo* has been shown to occur.

(20) *Noun*

Él no habla alemán. (m, Spain)

'He doesn't speak German.'

(21) *Direct object pronoun*

Yo no la veía. (f, D.R.)

'I didn't see her.'

(22) *Indirect Object pronoun*

Pero yo no le conocía. (m, Spain)

'But I didn't know him.'

(23) *Other pronoun*

…un amiga que conoció él en un discoteca.

'…a friend that met he (him) in the dance club. (f, D.R. student, Time 2)'

The 'noun' category included all nouns regardless of specificity and definiteness. The 'other' category included prepositional pronouns with or without the *a* personal (e.g. [*a*] *él*

'[to] him') and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *eso* 'that') with human referents. Although previous research on native speakers' object pronoun variation tends to only examine the variation between direct and indirect object pronouns alone (e.g. Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Klein-Andreu 2000; García & Otheguy 1977), the current study also includes nouns and other pronouns given that there appear to be many cases in which an object pronoun would be allowable based on the discourse, but learners produced a noun and/or a pronoun other than an object pronoun as in Example (24).

(24) *yo conocí ella en mi primera noche aquí*. (f, D.R. student, Time 2)

'I met "she" my first night here.'

3.2.4.4.1 Tokens included in the analyses of object forms

Only those verbs that had one of the aforementioned object forms were included in the analysis. Although there are some contexts in which speakers appear to employ a 'null' object, it was impossible to objectively determine whether or not the omission of the object was due to the speakers producing an incomplete utterance—which was common in the interviews—or they were in fact employing a null object. In addition, excluded from the analysis were those verbs that were intransitive that do not allow for objects such as *llegar* (to arrive), verbs that have a transitive meaning in certain contexts but were not accompanied by an overt object, transitive verbs that only allow for indirect object pronouns such as *gustar* (to be pleasing to), copular verbs such as *ser/estar* (to be) since they never occurred with object pronouns in the current dataset, verbs that were not fully produced and/or with incomplete predicates, specific verbs with an object pronoun for which it is difficult to objectively determine if the pronoun is used as in an accusative or dative context such as *ayudar*, *extender*, *enseñar*, *hacer*, *llamar*, *servir* (see De Mello 1997,

2002; Delbeque & Lamiroy 1996), verbs that had complements that were citations, phrases, nominal subordinate clauses or prepositional clauses, transitive verbs appearing in object-relative clauses since they have obligatory null objects and finally verbs with prepositional objects that could not be replaced grammatically by a pronoun or demonstrative. After the aforementioned exclusions, there were 3,556 tokens remaining. However, 2,874 of these tokens (80.1%) were nouns, many of which had never been referred to by the speaker previously in the discourse. Thus, in an effort to examine contexts in which object pronouns were common, it was decided to limit the analysis to those tokens whose object referents had been mentioned previously in the discourse within the last ten clauses (in any syntactic position). When the referent had not been mentioned in the previous ten clauses (or never mentioned previously), nouns were much more common (88% of the data) than pronominal forms (3.6% of the object forms). When only including objects that had been previously mentioned in the last ten clauses, the number of tokens were greatly reduced but the proportion of object pronouns greatly increased (see Table 32).

Table 32

Distribution of accusative object categories among tokens included in the analysis

Categories	N tokens	% tokens
Noun	319	49.2
Direct object pronoun	267	41.2
Indirect object pronoun	23	3.5
Other	39	6.1
Total	*648*	*100*

As can be seen in the previous table, there were very few tokens that met the criteria to be included in the analysis. The most common form produced by the speakers was a noun (about 50% of the data), then a direct object pronoun (41%), the other and indirect object

pronouns (about 9% of the data). Indeed, in the contexts examined in the current study, less than 4% of the tokens had an indirect object pronoun.

3.2.4.4.2 Independent variables for accusative object expression coded in the interview

There were five independent variables coded for the accusative object structure: Animacy, Gender, Number, Countability, and Subject Animacy. Although tokens were also coded for accompanying indirect object and accompanying lexical NP, due to low token counts for some categories of these variables, they were not included in the current analysis. Detailed descriptions of the operationalizations of each of these variables are described in the following sections.

3.2.4.4.2.1 Object Animacy coding

The animacy of the object was coded for each token. There were two categories for this variable as shown in the following table.

Table 33

Animacy categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
animate	436	67.3	*Tengo novia, claro.* (m, Spain) 'I have (a) girlfriend, of course.'
inanimate	212	32.7	*Hice algunas tareas de casa.* (m, Spain) 'I did some homework.'

As shown, more than two-thirds of the object referents were animate whereas about one-third were inanimate.

3.2.4.4.2.2 Object Gender coding

Each token was coded for the two categories of grammatical gender as shown in Table 34.

Table 34

Gender categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
masculine	413	63.7	*...y lo tapas por veinte minutos*. (f, D.R.) '…and (you) cover it for twenty minutes.'
feminine	235	36.3	*Yo la admiro mucho.* (f, D.R.) 'I admire her a lot…'

In the event that there was a discrepancy between the pronoun gender and the referent gender, I referred to the referent gender based on the context. For instance, the object pronoun *lo* in *…si no lo obtengo…* (…if I don't get it…; m, Spain student, Time 1) refers to *una práctica* 'an internship' and was coded as feminine. Similar to animacy, close to two-thirds of the referents were masculine and one-third were feminine.

3.2.4.4.2.3 Object Number coding

The number of each object was coded as well. There were two categories of this variable.

Table 35

Number categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
Singular	545	84.1	*Tendré que buscarlo.* (f, D.R.) (I) will have to look for it.
Plural	103	15.9	*Las fríes con aceite.* (m, D.R.) (You) fry them in oil.

If there was a discrepancy between the number of the object pronoun and the referent or a between the determinant and the noun, I coded for the actual number of the referent based on the context. Hence, the direct object pronoun *lo* in *puede usarlo* ([you] can use it; f, D.R. student) was coded as plural because it referred to *los servicios* (the services). As shown above, the objects included in the analysis were overwhelmingly singular.

3.2.4.4.2.4 Object Countability

This factor refers to whether or not the object referent can be counted or not. Tokens were coded as not countable if they were mass nouns such as *gente* (people), *carne* (meat), *español* (Spanish [language]), *tiempo* (time/weather), etc. Objects that referred to count nouns, such as *el profesor* (the professor) and *mis amigos* (my friends) were coded as countable.

Table 36

Countability categories, distribution and examples

Categories	N tokens	% tokens	Examples with English gloss
Countable	410	63.3	*Tiene un corazón muy grande.* (f, Spain) '(She) has a very big heart.'
Not countable	238	36.7	*Conozco gente allí en Estados Unidos.* (f, Spain) '(I) know people there in (the) United States.'

Nouns such as *trabajo* (work/job), which can be employed as both a count and mass noun, were coded as countable since it is difficult to determine with which semantic meaning the speaker used the terms. Similar to other factors, we see here also that about two-thirds of the data were countable whereas one-third was not countable.

3.2.4.5 Extra-linguistic factor coding

There were several extra-linguistic factors that were included in the analysis of the tokens for each structure. For the students, these factors included the location of the study abroad, the students' self-reported contact with Spanish before and during the studying abroad, grammar test scores at Time 1 and Time 2, pre-university course enrollment, university course enrollment, self-reported proficiency in Spanish at Time 1 and Time 2, and students' attitudes toward the language, culture and people of the study abroad region. Although there were other differences between students that could be examined, many were not included in the current study due to insufficient representation of the categories

of the variable. For instance, the students' age was not included since there is a very small range of ages (19-21). Each of the variables included in the study are explained in detail in the following sections.

3.2.4.5.1 Location of study abroad

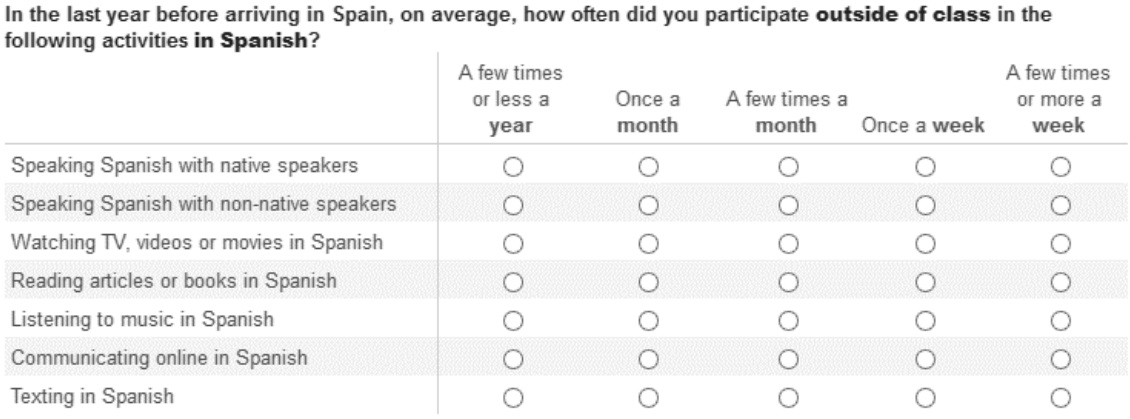
First, the location of the study abroad was included in the analysis as a mediating factor to the linguistic variables. As stated earlier, there were 11 students who studied abroad in the D.R. and 11 students who studied abroad in Spain. This was included to determine if exposure to dialect-specific linguistic variation played a role in the students' development of the three structures under examination such as Salgado-Robles (2011).

3.2.4.5.2 Self-reported contact with Spanish

In addition, the students' self-reported contact with Spanish both before and during the study abroad was coded. To gather the information for the contact the students' had before the study abroad, in the Time 1 background questionnaire, they were asked to indicate how often the participated in a variety of activities in Spanish. This question from the questionnaire is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Beginning of study abroad background questionnaire contact before studying abroad



In the last year before arriving in Spain, on average, how often did you participate outside of class in the following activities in Spanish?

	A few times or less a **year**	Once a **month**	A few times a **month**	Once a **week**	A few times or more a **week**
Speaking Spanish with native speakers	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking Spanish with non-native speakers	○	○	○	○	○
Watching TV, videos or movies in Spanish	○	○	○	○	○
Reading articles or books in Spanish	○	○	○	○	○
Listening to music in Spanish	○	○	○	○	○
Communicating online in Spanish	○	○	○	○	○
Texting in Spanish	○	○	○	○	○

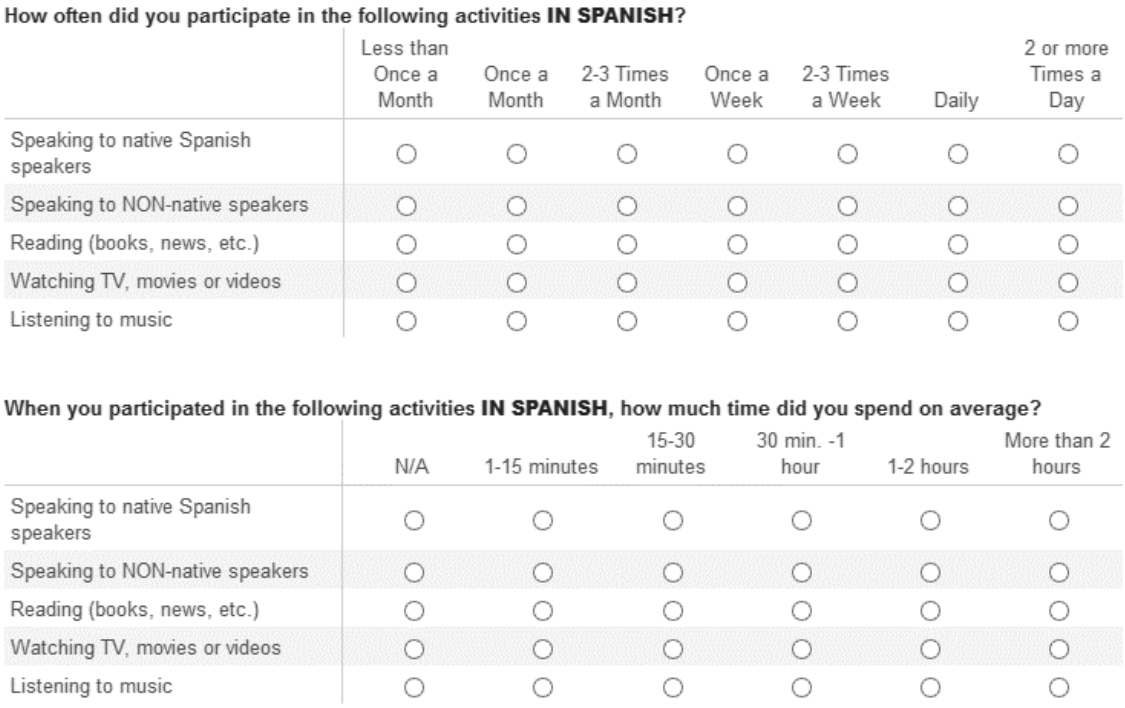
Each response was given a number between one (lowest frequency) and five (highest frequency). These numbers were then totaled to arrive at a number which was considered the students' overall contact before studying abroad.[12] Hence, the lowest potential score was seven points and the highest potential score was 35 points. The students' scores ranged between seven and 30 points (s = 6.14) with an average of 12.73.

Contact with Spanish during study abroad was also calculated based on the students' responses on questions included in the Time 2 background questionnaire as presented in the following Figure 3.

[12] Although these ratings could have been distinguished based on each student's level of involvement in the activity (e.g. passive vs. active) and/or the tasks difficulty, this falls outside the scope of the current investigation.

Figure 3

Frequency/duration of participation in Spanish language activities



How often did you participate in the following activities IN SPANISH?

	Less than Once a Month	Once a Month	2-3 Times a Month	Once a Week	2-3 Times a Week	Daily	2 or more Times a Day
Speaking to native Spanish speakers	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking to NON-native speakers	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Reading (books, news, etc.)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Watching TV, movies or videos	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Listening to music	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

When you participated in the following activities IN SPANISH, how much time did you spend on average?

	N/A	1-15 minutes	15-30 minutes	30 min. -1 hour	1-2 hours	More than 2 hours
Speaking to native Spanish speakers	○	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking to NON-native speakers	○	○	○	○	○	○
Reading (books, news, etc.)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Watching TV, movies or videos	○	○	○	○	○	○
Listening to music	○	○	○	○	○	○

To arrive at the during study abroad overall contact scores, each response was given a number between 0-6 for the first section regarding frequency and 0-5 regarding time spent on each activity. The number for each row on the frequency of activities were multiplied by the numbers for time spent on the activity. The potential scores on these items ranged between 0 and 150. The students' range of scores was between 17 and 105 (s = 25.3) with an average of 64.27.

3.2.4.5.3 Grammar test scores

Also included in the analysis were the students' scores on the grammar test which were described previously. At Time 1, the range of percent scores on the test was 25%-75% (s = 14.3%) with a mean percent score of 55.68%. At Time 2, the range of percent scores was 45%-95% (s = 16.0%) with a mean percent score of 68.18%. A Repeated

Measures ANOVA revealed that the students' scores at Time 2 were significantly higher than Time 1 [F=27.899, df=1, p <.001]. In addition to scores on the test at Times 1 and 2, the improvement on the test was also calculated. The range of percent positive change in percent scores on the test was -10% to 45% (s = 11.1%) with a mean percent increase of 12.5%.

3.2.4.5.4 Pre-university years of study

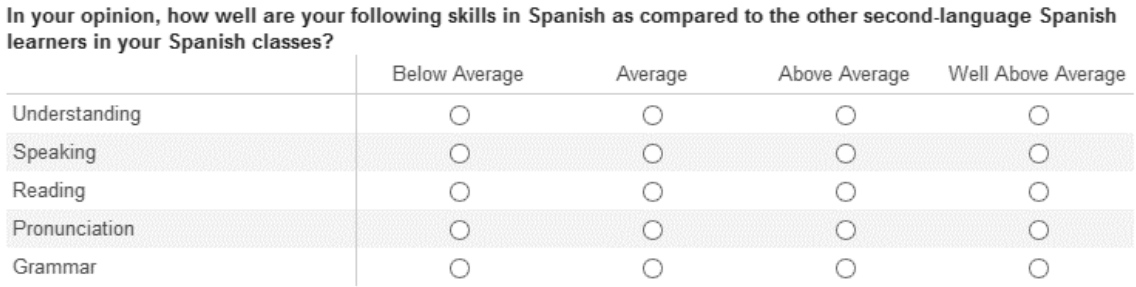
The next extra-linguistic factor included in the analysis was pre-university years of study. The total number of pre-university years studying Spanish was calculated. The students reported having studied Spanish before university between 1-8 years with a mean of 4.36 years (s = 1.89).

3.2.4.5.5 Self-reported proficiency

In order to compliment the students' scores on the proficiency test, their self-reported proficiency in Spanish was also calculated. The following Figure 4 shows the questions on the background questionnaire regarding this factor.

Figure 4

Self-reported proficiency in Spanish



In your opinion, how well are your following skills in Spanish as compared to the other second-language Spanish learners in your Spanish classes?

	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Well Above Average
Understanding	○	○	○	○
Speaking	○	○	○	○
Reading	○	○	○	○
Pronunciation	○	○	○	○
Grammar	○	○	○	○

This question was included in both the Time 1 and Time 2 questionnaires with the only difference being that for the Time 2 questionnaire, the wording changed to "compared to the other students studying abroad with you" instead of "compared to the other second-

language Spanish learners in your Spanish classes." Similar to the contact questions, the students were given a score between one (below average) and four (well above average) based on their self-rating of each skill. The total possible points ranged from 5-20. At Time 1, the students self-rating scores ranged from 8-16 (s = 2.66) with a mean score of 11.27. At Time 2, the student's scores ranged from 9-17 (s = 2.3) with a mean score of 12.55. In addition, a Repeated Measures ANOVA showed that the students' overall self-reported relative proficiency was significantly higher at Time 2 [F=15.474, df = 1, p=.001].

3.2.4.5.6 Students' attitude toward dialect, people, and culture of study abroad location

Another factor included in the analysis were the students' attitude scores at Time 2. This extra-linguistic factor was explored in the current study since language attitudes have been shown to be an important component of second-language acquisition (Gardner 1985) and as Geeslin & Gudmestad (2011/2008), "speakers' language attitudes influence use of a variant in an L2" (138). Indeed, the learners' use of a geographically-indexed variant may be a reflection of their L2 identity as suggested by Knouse (2012) and/or desire to "fit in" (Geeslin & Gudmestad 2011/2008**;** George 2014). As stated in (van Compernolle & Williams 2012: 237) "…the use of one linguistic variant or another…is a performance of one's social identity at the time of utterance." In the current study, the learners' attitude was measured broadly based on attitude scores that were derived from Likert-scale ratings of 10 statements concerning the learners' attitude toward the dialect, people, and culture of the specific study abroad region. The students were instructed to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with the statements. They were given five options: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree. Although here the

statements include both regions, in the background questionnaire, the original statements included only specific location of the student's study abroad.

1. I think Spanish spoken in Spain/D.R. is beautiful.
2. I have tried to learn to speak Spanish like a NS from Spain/D.R.
3. After I return home, I plan on keeping in touch with my friends from Spain/D.R. by phone and/or Skype.
4. The world would be a better place if everyone lived like people from Spain/D.R.
5. On average, the people of Spain/D.R. are friendly.
6. After studying abroad I would love to return and live in Spain/D.R.
7. I would recommend studying abroad in Spain/D.R. to my friends.
8. I am fascinated by the culture of the Spain/D.R.
9. I now have many close friends from Spain/D.R.
10. I got along well with the members of my host family.

As with the previous variables, each response was assigned a number between 1 (strongly disagree) and 5 (strongly agree) with the higher numbers indicating a more 'positive attitude' toward the dialect, people, and culture of the study abroad region in a broad sense. The possible scores range between 10 and 50 with the neutral mid-point being 30. The students' scores ranged from 32 to 43 (s = 2.94) with a mean score of 36.81. Hence, all of the students received scores that were above the 30 point neutral score.

3.2.4.5.7 Bivariate correlations between extra-linguistic factors

In order to determine if there were any correlations between the previously described extra-linguistic factors, bivariate correlations (2-tailed) were for every combination of these factors (156 total). From these tests, it was discovered that the great

majority of extra-linguistic factors did not significantly correlate with other extra-linguistic factors. However, the grammar test scores and self-reported proficiency scores all positively correlated with each other as shown in the following table.

Table 37

Grammar test scores and self-reported proficiency correlations

Factor 1	Factor 2	r	p-value (two-tailed)
T1 Grammar test score	T1 Self-reported proficiency	.561	< .01
T1 Grammar test score	T2 Self-reported proficiency	.539	< .05
T1 Grammar test score	T2 Grammar test score	.737	< .001
T1 Self-reported proficiency	T2 Self-reported proficiency	.822	< .001
T1 Self-reported proficiency	T2 Grammar test score	.488	< .05
T2 Self-reported proficiency	T2 Grammar test score	.577	< .01

As shown, the greatest correlations were found between the self-reported proficiency at Time 1 and Time 2 ($r = .822$, $n = 22$, $p < .001$) and the grammar test scores ($r = .737$, $n = 22$, $p < .001$). In addition, there was a positive correlation between Time 2 grammar scores and improvement on the grammar test ($r = .496$, $n = 22$, $p < .05$).

3.2.5 Statistical analyses

Following previous variationist research, the results were examined and interpreted quantitatively using statistical tests in SPSS. First, the overall rates of selection on the WCT and production in the interview of each category of the three linguistic structures are presented for the native speaker groups and the student groups at Time 1 and Time 2. One-Way ANOVAs were used to compare the rates of selection and production of overt SPs, indirect object pronouns, and the present perfect across groups at Time 1 and Time 2 whereas Repeated Measures ANOVAs were used to compare the rates of these forms between Time 1 and Time 2 for the student groups. Furthermore, in order to determine if the group rates reflected the individual participant trends, the rates of selection and

production of the aforementioned forms are presented for each individual participant at each data collection time.

Second, in order to determine which independent linguistic variables significantly predicted/correlated to the selection and production of forms, a variety of tests were run. First, for WCT, Binary Logistic Regressions were run using the Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) procedure for each group at each testing time. The GEE procedure was employed in order to include participant as a random variable since there were multiple observations per participant which violates the assumption of a traditional logistic regression. For the interview data, however, either Binary Logistic Regressions or Fishers Exact Tests were run depending on the linguistic structure. Moreover, in order to focus the results on the use of specific categories of the dependent variable for each structure, the dependent variables were made binary by means of combining categories or limiting the tokens to two categories of the variable. Regarding subject expression, only the tokens that were accompanied by either a null subject or overt SP were included in the regression analyses since only the third person referents allowed for additional subject forms such as lexical NPs. That is to say, null subjects and overt SPs are allowed for all persons and numbers whereas other subject forms are not. If all forms used to express subject were included in the analysis, the regression model would assume that all subject forms would potentially be allowed for each token which is not the case. In addition, 2nd person referents were excluded since they were rarely produced by the participants (less than 3% of the tokens overall and within certain student groups, less than 1% of the data) and as such, led to empty cells in the data. For the present perfect, the preterite and other categories of the dependent variable were combined so that the variable included two categories:

present perfect vs. preterite/other. This allowed for a clearer examination of the speakers use of the present perfect as opposed to other forms produced in the interview to express completed actions in the past. For the analysis of object pronoun variation, the analysis of object pronoun variation was limited to the direct and indirect object tokens since variation between these two forms was the focus of the study. In addition, regression analyses were not run due to the low token count of these forms that led to several empty cells among the categories of the independent variables. Instead, Fishers Exact Tests were run in order to determine significance of each factor for each group at each testing time.

Finally, in order to determine if any of the extra-linguistic factors included in the current study affected the production and/or selection of forms, Bivariate Pearson Correlation tests were run between the rates of selection/production of forms and each of the included extra-linguistic factors. In order to show the directions of the effects of the extra-linguistic variables on the dependent variables, scatter plots are displayed to present linear correlations.

3.3 Predictions

In this section, I present the hypotheses for the development of each structure as related to each of the research questions in light of previous research. The first two research questions asked what the rates of the different forms of each structure will be in the interview and the WCT. Although based on previous research it is difficult to estimate a precise distribution of forms used for each structure since previous studies have had different participants and tasks, there are a few potential possibilities. First, based on previous research on other variable structures (e.g. Geeslin 2010), it is likely that the rates of the forms for each structure will differ between the interview and the WCT. The

predictions for the rates of the specific forms for each structure for each group are presented first for the subject forms, followed by the present perfect, and finally object forms. For each structure, the predictions for the native speakers are first presented, followed by the student groups at Time 1 then the student groups at Time 2.

1) *Subject expression*

    a. For the native speakers, it is predicted that the Dominicans will select overt SPs at higher rates than the Spaniards as attested in previous research (e.g. Cameron 1992). In addition, it is likely that both groups will select null subjects more often than overt SPs (e.g. Otheguy & Zentella 2012).

    b. At Time 1, it is likely that students overall will select/produce more null subjects than other subject forms since this is what has been found in previous research using both oral (e.g. Linford 2009) and written tasks (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2015) on students at similar proficiencies as the students in the current study. In addition, it is predicted that students will select/produce overt SPs at higher rates than their native speaker counterparts (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2015).

    c. At Time 2, it is hypothesized that the D.R. students will select/produce overt SPs at higher rates than the Spain students given that the D.R. students will most likely be exposed to higher rates of overt SPs and exposure to higher rates of a given form has been shown to lead to higher rates of use of that form by L2 learners in some previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015; Salgado-Robles 2011). However, it is not clear that students' rates of selection/production of overt SPs will more closely resemble the rates of their

native speaker counterparts at Time 2 since previous research is mixed regarding this matter (e.g. Lopez-Ortega 2003).

2) *Present perfect*

   a. For the native speaker groups, it is predicted that the Dominicans will select/produce higher rates of the preterite than the present perfect given what has been found in other Latin American dialects (e.g. Howe & Schwenter 2008). For the Spaniards, on the other hand, it is predicted that they will select higher rates of the present perfect in the WCT (Geeslin et al. 2012) but produce higher rates of the present perfect than the preterite in the interview (e.g. Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). Finally, it is predicted that the Spaniards will select/produce higher rates of the present perfect than the Dominicans (e.g. Westmoreland 1988; De Kock 1989; Penny 2000; Howe 2006; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

   b. At Time 1, it is hypothesized that students will produce/select more preterite forms than present perfect to express completed actions in the past since the preterite has been found to the default form to express the past tense for L2 learners (Salaberry 2000) and they have been shown to select preterite forms at higher rates than the present perfect on written contextualized tasks (Geeslin et al. 2012). Moreover, it is predicted that in the interview, in addition to the present perfect and the preterite, students will employ additional forms such as the imperfect to express completed actions in the past since they may have not fully acquired the native-like use of the past-tense forms (e.g. Liskin-Gasparro 2000).

c. At Time 2, based on previous research with comparable students (Kanwit et al. 2015), it is predicted that the D.R. students will not show more target-like rates of selection of the present perfect. For the Spain students, in contrast, it is predicted that they will select the present perfect in the WCT at rates that more closely resemble the rates of the native speakers based on previous studies (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015). In addition, since native speakers in Spain have been shown to produce the present perfect for completed actions in the past and Dominican speakers do not, it is predicted that Spain students will select/produce higher rates of the present perfect than the D.R. students similar to previous research (Kanwit et al. 2015).

3) *Object pronouns*

a. For the native speakers, it is predicted that the Spaniards will select/produce higher rates of *le* in accusative contexts than the Dominicans given the previous research (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque, Nicole & Lamiroy 1996; García & Otheguy 1977; Klein-Andreu 2000).

b. At Time 1, it is predicted that students will select and possibly produce both indirect and direct object pronouns to refer to accusative objects as found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011; Zyzik 2006). In addition, it is likely that in the interview, students will produce very few object pronouns overall and more nouns since that is what have been found in previous research (e.g. VanPatten 1990; Sanchez & Al-Kasey 1999; Zyzik 2006).

c. For the students at Time 2, given the diverging results found in previous studies (Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011), it is unclear whether or not students will select rates of *le* in the WCT that more closely reflect their native-speaker counterpart rates. However, based on previous research using oral data (Salgado-Robles 2011), it is predicted that both groups will produce rates of *le* that more closely resemble their native-speaker counterparts. Hence, since native speakers in Spain have been shown to produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts and speakers from the D.R. do not, it is predicted that students in Spain will select/produce higher rates of *le(s)* than the students in the D.R.

The third research questions asked what linguistic and extra-linguistic factors would correlate with the production/selection of forms for each structure. First, it is predicted that students will vary their use of forms based on at least some of the linguistic factors at both Time 1 and Time 2 since previous research on these forms has shown that students at similar levels do so (e.g. Linford 2009; Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012). In addition, it is predicted that the constraints on variation for each structure will depend crucially on the task (Geeslin 2010) and the linguistic structure under investigation. The predictions for the rates of the forms for each structure are as follows:

1) Subject expression

a. For the native speakers, it is predicted that selection of subject pronouns in the WCT will be constrained minimally by Continuity of Reference and TMA based on previous research (e.g. Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Cameron 1994; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1994). Indeed,

although the rates may differ between groups, it is predicted that constraints such as Person/Number, Switch reference, Perseveration, and TMA will be the same for the Dominicans and Spaniards (Cameron 1995).

b. At Time 1, it is predicted that the learners' subject pronoun selection in the WCT will be constrained by switch reference and possibly by person but not TMA since previous research employing similar tasks has shown this to be the case with students at comparable levels of proficiency in the Spanish (Geeslin et al. 2013, 2015). In the interview, it is predicted that subject pronouns will be minimally constrained by Continuity of Reference and possibly constrained by Person/Number and TMA based on the findings of previous research (Geeslin et al. 2015; Linford 2009).

c. A Time 2, it is predicted that, assuming improvement on the grammar test, students will produce/select subject forms based on an increased number of constraints from Time 1 and the target-like constraints that were present in Time 1 will be stronger and the direction of the effects will be more similar to their native speaker counterparts (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2015; Linford 2009).

2) Present Perfect

a. For the native speakers, it is predicted that the selection of the present perfect by both groups will be constrained by the Object Plurality factor since previous research has found this to be the case across dialects of Spanish (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres-Cacoullos 2008). In the WCT, it is predicted that Spaniards will vary their selection of the present perfect based on the Temporal Reference factor but not the

Dominicans. The Spaniards are expected to select the highest rates of the present perfect with actions that occurred previously the same day, followed by actions that occurred the day before, and finally actions that occurred further in the past (Schwenter 1994). In the interview, it is predicted that variation will constrained by Temporal Reference, Object Plurality and possibly Temporal Adverbials as found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012; Howe & Schwenter 2008 [but not for Temporal Adverbials]; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). Moreover, it is predicted that variation between past tense forms by the Dominicans will be constrained by Clause Type and Aktionsart based on research of other Latin American dialects (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

b. At Time 1, it is predicted that in the WCT, students will not vary between the preterite and the present perfect based on the Temporal Reference factor as found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012). For Object Plurality, however, it is unclear whether or not it will affect selection since it has never been tested in previous research on L2 speakers of Spanish. In addition, it is predicted that in the interview, students will vary between the preterite and present perfect based on temporal reference and produce more present perfect in irrelevant contexts which occurs English.

c. A Time 2, it is predicted that the D.R. students and the Spain students will possibly vary their selection/production of the present perfect based on Object Plurality if it is found to significantly constrain variation of their native speaker counterparts. In addition, for the D.R. students, it is predicted

that they will continue to not vary between past tense forms in the WCT based on the Temporal Reference but that the Spain students will (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015). Furthermore, it is predicted that the Spain students will produce/select the present perfect more for completed actions that occurred previously the same day than the D.R. students given their likely exposure to this use of the present perfect (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2012). In the interview, it is predicated that the number constraints on the production of the present perfect as well as the strength of the constraints will increase for both groups. In addition, it is predicted that the Spain students will begin to employ the present perfect for completed actions that occurred previously the same day (Geeslin et al. 2012).

3) Object expression

a. For the native speakers, it is predicted that the Dominicans will produce/select *le* in accusative contexts rarely at best (De Mello 2002) and as such, will not vary between object pronouns in accusative contexts based on any factors in either task. For the Spaniards, however, it is expected that selection of object pronouns in the will be constrained by Gender, Animacy and Telicity in the WCT and Gender, Animacy, Number, Countability and Subject Animacy in the interview given the findings in previous research (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque & Lamiroy 1996; Klein-Andreu 2000; García & Otheguy 1977).

b. At Time 1, it is predicted that their object form variation in accusative contexts in the interview and WCT will be constrained by animacy as found

in previous research (Zyzik 2006) and by telicity in the WCT (Geeslin et al. 2010).

c. A Time 2, it is predicted that the Spain students' will produce/select object forms based on an increased number of constraints from Time 1 and the constraints that were present in Time 1 and found to be significant for the Spaniards will be stronger (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011). On the other hand, given that Dominicans have not been shown in previous research to vary between indirect and direct object pronouns in accusative contexts, it is expected that the D.R. students will vary between forms based on a lower number of constraints and/or the constraints will become weaker (Salgado-Robles 2011).

Concerning extra-linguistic factors, it is predicted that the extra-linguistic factors that have been shown to affect L2 acquisition in previous research will significantly correlate to the rates of production/selection of forms. Specifically, it is predicted that factors such as contact with the native language (e.g. Dewaele 1992; Nagy, Blondeau and Auger 2003; Regan 1995, 1996), exposure to the dialect-specific variation (Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015; Kanwit and Solon 2013; Salgado Robles 2011), and student proficiency (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2013) will affect the rates of use of the forms. Finally, it is unclear whether or not individual differences will affect the use of the dialectal forms in the current study. Although individual differences have also been shown to play a role in L2 acquisition (Dörnyei 2006; Ellis 2004), previous research on the L2 acquisition of geographically-indexed variables in Spanish have been mixed with one study finding no

effect of attitude for target-like production of the variants (Knouse 2012) and another finding attitude to affect one variable structure but not another (George 2014).

CHAPTER 4

In this chapter, the participants' selection and production of the three linguistic structures under examination—subject forms, object forms denoting accusative case, and past tense forms denoting completed actions—will be presented. Both the rates of selection/production will be presented as well as the linguistic and extra-linguistic constraining factors on their selection/production will be presented. As discussed in the previous chapter, there were four groups of participants (two L2 learner groups and two native-speaker groups): D.R. students, Spain students, Dominicans, and Spaniards. The native speakers completed the interview and the WCTs once whereas the student participants completed the tasks twice; at Time 1 and Time 2. Hence, the results will be separated into six groups: D.R. students Time 1, D.R. students Time 2, Dominicans, Spain students Time 1, Spain students Time 2, and Spaniards.

This chapter is organized in the following manner: In the first section and subsections, the rates of the production and selection of each of the structures for each group and individual participant at each testing time is presented. This is followed by sections detailing the results of the chi-square and logistic regression tests to determine which linguistic factors directly constrain the variation between forms for each structure. The final sections of the chapter, the results of the correlations between the selection and production of forms by extra-linguistic factors are presented.

4.1 Rates of production and selection of forms

As mentioned previously, the following sections describe the results for the rates of the categories of each structure. The sections begin with subject forms, followed by object forms, then the past tense forms. For each structure, the presentation of the results

begins with the overall group distributions of the forms produced in the interview followed by the overall group distributions of the forms selected in the WCT. This is followed by sections in which the rates of the specific forms of the structure (i.e. overt SPs, *le(s),* present perfect) are presented for each individual participant to determine if the overall group rates of selection/production of the forms reflect the individual rates. Finally, for each structure, the percent differences between Time 1 and Time 2 for each individual student participant are presented.

4.1.1 Overall Rates of subject forms in interview and WCT

This first section begins with a presentation of the distribution of the subject forms produced by the speaker groups in the interview followed by the distribution of null and overt SPs selected in the WCT. For each task, a table is displayed showing the token count (N) and the percent of the total forms (%) for each group (with the students' rates at each data collection time separated into separate rows). These tables are followed by stacked column charts displaying the rates of each form produced/selected by each group.

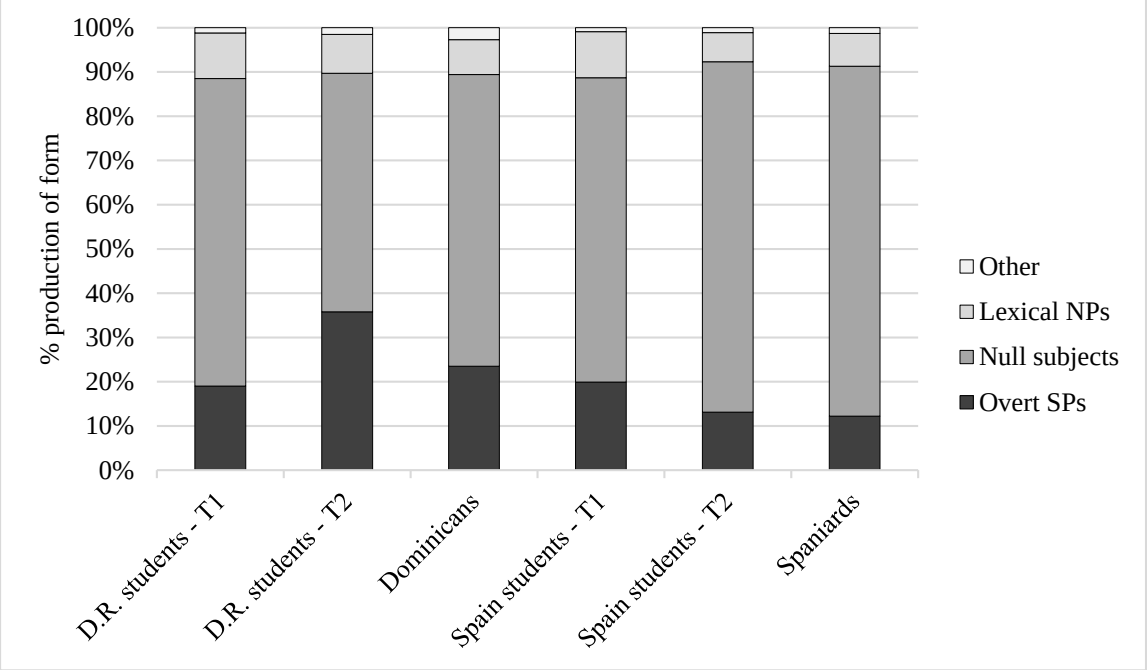
Table 38

Rates of production of subject forms by group and time

		Overt SP		Null subj.		Lexical NP		Other		Total	
Group	*Time*	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
D.R.S.	1	253	19.0	927	69.5	138	10.3	16	1.2	1334	100
	2	642	35.8	967	53.9	157	8.8	27	1.5	1793	100
Doms.	n/a	450	23.5	1264	65.9	152	7.9	51	2.7	1917	100
Spain	1	321	19.9	1109	68.8	168	10.4	15	0.9	1613	100
	2	237	13.1	1436	79.2	119	6.6	20	1.1	1812	100
Spans.	n/a	201	12.2	1305	79.1	122	7.4	22	1.3	1650	100

Figure 5

Rates of production of subject forms by group and time



In the interview, all groups show a similar pattern of producing more null subjects than any other form, followed by overt SPs, then lexical NPs and finally other forms. Regarding the native speakers, it was found that the Dominicans produced rates of lexical NPs and other forms comparable to those of the Spaniards, but fewer null subjects and more overt SPs than the Spaniards. Specifically, the Spaniards produced overt SPs at a rate of 12.2% whereas the Dominicans produced overt SPs at a rate of 23.5%, that is, 11.3 percentage points higher or close to double the rate of the Spaniards.

For the students, we see that at Time 1, the two groups of students show nearly identical distributions of forms: ≈70% null subjects, ≈20% overt SPs, ≈10% lexical NPs and ≈1.0% other forms. At Time 2, however, the student groups diverge from each other regarding specific rates. Although both student groups increase their rates of other forms and decrease their rates of lexical NPs [significantly for the Spain students: F=9.825, df=1,

p=.011], the D.R. students significantly increase their rates of overt SPs nearly 17 percentage points to 35.8% [F=10.984, df=1, p=.008] and significantly decrease their rates of null subjects 15.6 percentage points to 53.9% [F=8.646, df=1, p=.015]. The Spain students, on the other hand, significantly increase their rates of null subjects about 10 percentage points to 79.2% [F=5.176, df=1, p=.046] and decrease their rates of overt SPs 6.8 percentage points to 13.1%, albeit not significantly [F=2.152, df=1, p=.173].

When comparing the students to the native speakers from the region where they studied abroad, we see that the D.R. students' production of lexical NPs and other forms more closely resembles the Dominican rates of these forms at Time 2. However, the D.R. students' rates of overt SPs and null subjects are further away from the Dominican rates at Time 2 than they are at Time 1. At Time 2, their rates of overt SPs are higher than the Dominicans' rates by 12.3 percentage points and their rates of null subjects are lower by 12 percentage points. The Spain students, on the other hand, show rates that more closely approach the Spaniard rates in every case at Time 2. In fact, at Time 2, the distribution of subject forms between the Spain students and the Spaniards are nearly identical.

We now turn to the presentation of the distribution of the subject pronouns selected in the WCT. Although these data come from the same participants, three of the native speakers (one Spaniard and two Dominicans) were excluded from the analysis of the WCT results since they were found to be outliers regarding their selection of subject pronouns and other forms.[13]

[13] This was determined based on box plots as well as a comparison of their selection in the WCT and their rates in the interview. For example, a Dominican speaker selected 7 present perfect forms in the WCT but never produced the present perfect in the interview. In addition, this same speaker selected almost 9 overt SPs in the WCT (well above average) but in the interview produced overt SPs at a below average rate (16.5%).

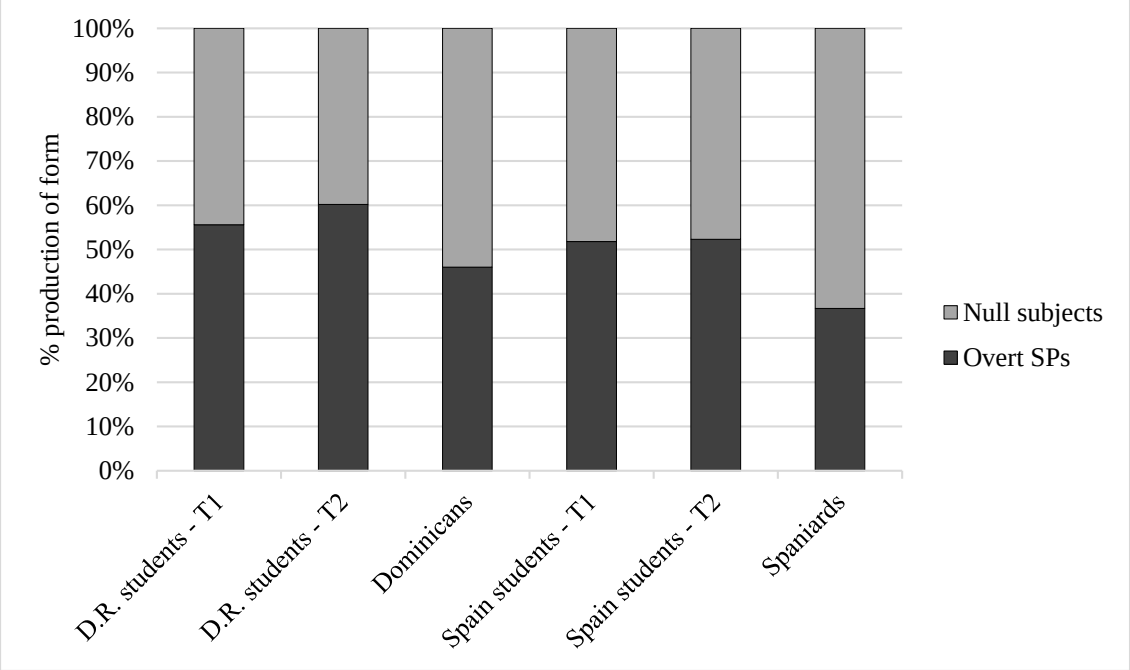
Table 39

Subject pronouns selected in the WCT

Group	Time	Null subj. N	Null subj. %	Overt SP N	Overt SP %	Total N	Total %
D.R. students	1	36	44.4	45	55.6	81	100
	2	35	39.8	53	60.2	88	100
Dominicans	n/a	74	54.0	63	46.0	137	100
Spain students	1	40	48.2	43	51.8	83	100
	2	42	47.7	46	52.3	88	100
Spaniards	n/a	93	63.3	54	36.7	147	100

Figure 6

Distribution of subject forms selected in the WCT by group



Unlike the interview, only the native speaker groups show higher rates of null subject selection than overt SPs. However, similar to the interview, the Spaniards selected more null subjects and less overt SPs than the Dominicans. Nevertheless, the percent difference between the groups is smaller in the WCT (only ≈ 6 percentage points) than in the interview. Moreover, the rates of overt SPs are higher in the WCT than the overt SP rates in the interview for both groups. Regarding the student groups, we find that they select

overt SPs/null subjects at similar rates at Time 1: 55.6% overt SPs for the D.R. students and 51.8% overt SPs for the Spain students. At Time 2, the D.R. students increase their selection of overt SPs nearly 5 percentage points. Also similar to the interview, the D.R. students select overt SPs at higher rates than the Dominicans at Time 2 by about 14 percentage points. The rates for the Spain students, on the other hand, show negligible differences in rates between Time 1 and Time 2, which is different from the interview. Despite the aforementioned differences between groups, the results of One-Way ANOVAs showed no significant differences between group rates at both Time 1 [$F = 1.731$, $df = 3$, $p = .176$] and Time 2 [$F = 2.562$, $df = 3$, $p = .068$].

4.1.1.1 Native speakers' individual rates of subject forms in interview and WCT

In this section, the individual native-speaker participant rates of overt SP production in the interview (Table 40) and selection in the WCT (Table 41) are presented. Included in each table is each participants' rank based on their rate of overt SPs (1 = highest rate), the participants' number, the percent at which overt SPs were produced/selected by the participant, and finally the country of origin of the participant. The abbreviation for the Dominican Republic (Dom. Rep.) is bolded in order to better distinguish speakers from either country visually.

Table 40

Rates of overt SP in the *interview* for each native speaker participant

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	2	41.7	**Dom. Rep.**	11	10	15.7	**Dom. Rep.**
2	6	39.8	**Dom. Rep.**	12	2	13.0	Spain
3	8	34.4	**Dom. Rep.**	13	6	12.1	Spain
4	4	28.7	**Dom. Rep.**	14	5	11.4	Spain
5	3	25.9	Spain	15	11	7.9	**Dom. Rep.**
6	1	21.2	**Dom. Rep.**	16	1	7.8	Spain
7	3	20.9	**Dom. Rep.**	17	9	7.2	Spain
7	4	20.9	Spain	18	7	6.5	Spain
8	7	20.5	**Dom. Rep.**	19	8	4.2	Spain
9	5	18.3	**Dom. Rep.**	20	10	3.4	Spain
10	9	16.5	**Dom. Rep.**	21	11	1.9	Spain

Note. Dominican SD = 10.7%; range = 33.8 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 7.4%; range = 24.0 percentage points

When examining individual participant rates of overt SPs in the interview, as expected, we see that the great majority of the speakers with the highest rates of overt SPs are Dominican (nine out of the top 11) whereas the majority of speakers with the lowest rates are Spaniard (nine out of the lowest 11). In addition, we see that the range between Dominican participants is 33.8 percentage points whereas the range for the Spaniards is 24.0 percentage points which is reflected in the standard deviations (7.4% for Spaniards and 10.7% for Dominicans). The next Table 39, presents the rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCTs for each native-speaker participant.

Table 41

Rates of selection of overt SP in the *WCT* for each native speaker participant

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	*9*	*86.7*[14]	***Dom. Rep.***	9	3	40.0	**Dom. Rep.**
2	4	66.7	**Dom. Rep.**	9	7	40.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	2	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	10	4	33.3	Spain
4	3	57.1	Spain	10	5	33.3	Spain
5	11	56.3	**Dom. Rep.**	10	2	33.0	Spain
6	11	53.3	Spain	11	8	31.3	Spain
7	1	46.7	**Dom. Rep.**	12	10	25.0	Spain
7	5	46.7	**Dom. Rep.**	12	6	25.0	Spain
8	1	43.8	Spain	13	*8*	*18.8*	***Dom. Rep.***
8	7	43.8	Spain	14	6	13.3	**Dom. Rep.**
9	10	40.0	**Dom. Rep.**	15	*9*	*0.0*	*Spain*

Note. Dominican SD = 15.8%; range = 53.4 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 12.9%; range = 32.1 percentage points

In the WCT, we see a similar trend of more Dominicans selecting higher rates of overt SPs than Spaniards. However, the standard deviation/range for both groups is greater in the WCT than they are in the interview. In fact, if we consider only the non-outliers, it is a Dominican speaker that selects the lowest rate of overt SPs on the task. Indeed, the rates of overt SPs in the interview did not significantly correlate with the rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT [r = 0.161, n = 19, p = 0.509]. In other words, it wasn't always the case that those who produced higher rates of overt SPs in the interview also selected higher rates of overt SPs in the WCT.

4.1.1.2 Students' individual rates of subject forms in interview and WCT

We now present the students' individual participant rates of overt SPs in the interview at Time 1 (Table 42), Time 2 (Table 43) and the difference in rates for each participant between Time 1 and Time 2 (Table 44).

[14] The participants in italics were those that were removed from all the group analyses of the WCT due to being outliers. They are presented here for reference only and are not discussed in detail.

Table 42

Rates of production of overt SPs in the interview for each student at Time 1

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	11	58.8	**Dom. Rep.**	12	2	10.4	Spain
2	10	56.6	Spain	13	7	9.7	Spain
3	6	36.8	Spain	14	9	8.9	Spain
4	9	29.4	**Dom. Rep.**	15	11	8.3	Spain
5	8	29.1	Spain	16	1	7.5	Spain
6	3	25.7	**Dom. Rep.**	17	1	6.9	**Dom. Rep.**
7	4	21.4	Spain	18	5	6.6	Spain
8	4	18.9	**Dom. Rep.**	19	2	5.4	**Dom. Rep.**
9	5	15.2	**Dom. Rep.**	20	7	3.1	**Dom. Rep.**
10	6	14.6	**Dom. Rep.**	21	3	2.9	Spain
11	10	12.6	**Dom. Rep.**	22	8	2.4	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 16.3%; range = 56.4 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 16.6%; range = 53.7 percentage points

At Time 1, we see that there are D.R. students and Spain students on both ends of the spectrum. For instance, four of the Spain students and three D.R. students produced overt SPs at rates in the top seven. On the other hand, four of the D.R. students and three of the Spain students had rates of overt SPs in the lowest seven. Moreover, both groups have standard deviations and ranges that are greater than both native-speaker groups but are very similar to each other. Finally, six D.R. students have rates of overt SPs that fall within the Dominican speakers range. Within the speakers that are outside the percent range, one has a higher rate and four have a lower rate. For the Spain students, there were eight within the range of the Spaniards at Time 1. All three Spain students outside the range had rates above the highest Spaniard rate. The following Table 43 shows the rates of overt SPs for the individual participants in the interview at Time 2.

Table 43

Rates of production of overt SPs in the interview for each student at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	11	55.9	**Dom. Rep.**	12	7	14.8	Spain
2	4	50.7	**Dom. Rep.**	13	2	12.4	**Dom. Rep.**
3	6	47.2	**Dom. Rep.**	14	5	11.2	Spain
4	9	43.8	**Dom. Rep.**	15	7	10.8	**Dom. Rep.**
5	5	35.5	**Dom. Rep.**	16	8	10.3	Spain
6	8	32.2	**Dom. Rep.**	17	1	8.4	Spain
7	10	29.0	**Dom. Rep.**	18	2	6.4	Spain
8	4	28.3	Spain	19	1	6.3	**Dom. Rep.**
9	3	20.8	**Dom. Rep.**	20	9	5.7	Spain
10	10	18.6	Spain	21	11	5.1	Spain
11	6	17.7	Spain	22	3	4.8	Spain

Note. D.R. students: SD = 17.1%; range = 49.6 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 7.3%; range = 23.5 percentage points

At Time 2, where the participants fall in the ranking changes. Now, the D.R. students have the seven highest rates of overt SPs whereas the Spain students have six out of the lowest seven overt SP rates. Regarding range and standard deviations, the D.R. students' standard deviation increases slightly but the range decreases. The Spain students, on the other hand, show a sharp decrease in standard deviation and range of overt SP rates. In addition, for the D.R. students, there are still six students within the native speaker range of rates but in contrast to Time 1, there are now four above the range and only one below. For the Spain students, there are now 10 within the range of the Spaniards and only one with a rate above the range. Now the percent difference between rates for each speaker in the interview is presented in Table 44.

Table 44

Percent change of the rates of overt SPs produced in the interview for each student between Time 1 and 2

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country	Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	6	+32.6	**Dom. Rep.**	12	3	+1.9	Spain
2	4	+31.8	**Dom. Rep.**	13	1	+0.9	Spain
3	8	+29.8	**Dom. Rep.**	14	1	-0.6	**Dom. Rep.**
4	5	+20.3	**Dom. Rep.**	15	11	-2.9	**Dom. Rep.**
5	10	+16.4	**Dom. Rep.**	16	9	-3.2	Spain
6	9	+14.4	**Dom. Rep.**	16	11	-3.2	Spain
7	7	+7.7	**Dom. Rep.**	17	2	-4.0	Spain
8	2	+7.0	**Dom. Rep.**	18	3	-4.9	**Dom. Rep.**
9	4	+6.9	Spain	19	8	-18.8	Spain
10	7	+5.1	Spain	20	6	-19.1	Spain
11	5	+4.6	Spain	21	10	-38.0	Spain

For the D.R. students, between Time 1 and Time 2, eight produced more overt SPs and the three remaining students did not decrease their rates more than 5 percentage points. For the Spain students, six produced less overt SPs and no student increased their rates of overt SPs more than seven percentage points. In fact, between Time 1 and Time 2, 10 of the D.R. students either got closer to the overall Dominican group rate of 23.5% and/or increased their overt SP rates whereas 10 Spain students either got closer to the Spaniard group rate of 12.2% and/or decreased their rates. In addition to the changes found between Time 1 and 2, for overt SP production, there is a significant correlation between Time 1 and Time 2 for both the D.R. students [$r = .660$, $n=11$, $p=.027$] and the Spain students [$r = .606$, $n = 11$, $p=.048$]. In other words, those students that tended to produce higher rates of overt SPs at Time 1 in comparison to the other participants also did so at Time 2.

We now turn to the students' individual rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT at Time 1 (Table 45), Time 2 (Table 46) as well as the difference in rates for each participant between times.

Table 45

Rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT for each student at Time 1

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	4	100.0	**Dom. Rep.**	7	9	57.1	**Dom. Rep.**
2	10	87.5	Spain	7	8	57.1	Spain
3	6	85.7	**Dom. Rep.**	8	2	50.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	2	85.7	Spain	9	1	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**
3	4	85.7	Spain	9	7	42.9	Spain
4	8	75.0	**Dom. Rep.**	10	5	37.5	Spain
5	3	71.4	Spain	10	9	37.5	Spain
6	3	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	11	11	28.6	**Dom. Rep.**
6	11	62.5	Spain	12	6	12.5	Spain
7	10	57.1	**Dom. Rep.**	13	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	5	57.1	**Dom. Rep.**	13	1	0.0	Spain

Note. D.R. students: SD = 27.1%; range = 100 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 29.7%; range = 87.5 percentage points

Similar to the interview rates at Time 1, the student from both groups show high and low rates of overt SPs. In contrast to the interview, however, the students in both groups show a much higher range and almost double the standard deviation as found in the interview data. However, this is similar to the native speaker groups who also show greater ranges and standard deviations in the WCT (albeit not so great). The following Table 46 presents the rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT at Time 2.

Table 46

Rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT for each student participants at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country	Rank	Part. #	% pro	Country
1	4	100.0	**Dom. Rep.**	5	3	50.0	**Dom. Rep.**
1	6	100.0	**Dom. Rep.**	5	8	50.0	**Dom. Rep.**
2	9	87.5	**Dom. Rep.**	5	11	50.0	Spain
2	8	87.5	Spain	5	3	50.0	Spain
3	4	75.0	Spain	5	5	50.0	Spain
4	1	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	5	6	50.0	Spain
4	2	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	5	9	50.0	Spain
4	5	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	6	7	37.5	**Dom. Rep.**
4	2	62.5	Spain	6	1	37.5	Spain
4	7	62.5	Spain	7	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	10	50.0	**Dom. Rep.**	7	10	0.0	Spain

Note. D.R. students: SD = 28.9%; range = 100 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 22.2%; range = 87.5 percentage points

At Time 2, there is a slight trend for more D.R. students to select the highest rates of overt SPs than the Spain students, but this trend is not as clear as it was in the interviews. Furthermore, whereas the standard deviation and the range stays essentially the same for the D.R. students as Time 1, the range stays the same but the standard deviation decreases for the Spain students. However, the standard deviation and the range for the WCT remains greater than the interviews at both times and the native-speaker groups standard deviations and ranges on both the WCT and the interview. Finally, the percent difference between rates of overt SP for each student between Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 47.

Table 47

Percent change of overt SP between Time 1 and 2 WCT

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country	Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	7	+37.5	**Dom. Rep.**	6	5	+5.4	**Dom. Rep.**
1	1	+37.5	Spain	7	4	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
1	6	+37.5	Spain	8	10	-7.1	**Dom. Rep.**
2	9	+30.4	**Dom. Rep.**	9	4	-10.7	Spain
2	8	+30.4	Spain	10	3	-12.5	**Dom. Rep.**
3	1	+19.6	**Dom. Rep.**	10	11	-12.5	Spain
3	7	+19.6	Spain	11	3	-21.4	Spain
4	6	+14.3	**Dom. Rep.**	12	2	-23.2	Spain
5	2	+12.5	**Dom. Rep.**	13	8	-25.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	5	+12.5	Spain	14	11	-28.6	**Dom. Rep.**
5	9	+12.5	Spain	15	10	-87.5	Spain

Despite the fact that as the group the D.R. student as a whole increase their rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT, only six of the 11 D.R. students increased their rates of selection of overt SPs. In addition, although the Spain students did not show much of a difference regarding rate changes between Time 1 and Time 2 as a whole, on an individual basis, six of the 11 Spain students increased their rates of selection of overt SP. This contrasts with the interview in which the majority of the students that increased their rates were D.R. students and a greater majority of Spain students decreased their rates between Time 1 and 2. However, similar to the interview, nine D.R. students either increased their rates of overt SPs or had rates that more closely resembled the Dominican group WCT rate of 46% and seven of the Spain students either decreased their rates of overt SPs or had rates that more closely resembled the Spaniard group WCT rate of 36.7%. In addition, there was a significant correlation between the rates of selection in the WCT between Time 1 and Time 2 for the D.R. students [$r = .711$, $n = 11$, $p = .014$] but not for the Spain students [$r = .030$, $n = 11$, $p = .930$]. Finally, when comparing students' rates of overt SPs produced in

the interview to rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT, no significant correlations were found at Time 1 [r = .074, n = 22, p = .744] or Time 2 [r = .188, n = 22, p = .402].

4.1.2 Overall Rates of past tense forms for completed actions in interview and WCT

In the following sections, the results for the rates of production of form expression completed actions in the past in the interview and the selection of the present perfect in the WCT are presented. As with the other variables, these sections begin with a presentation of the overall rates of productions/selection of the different forms, followed by a series of tables detailing the individual participants' rates of production/selection of the present perfect in each task. The distribution of the past tense forms used to express telic events in the interview are presented in Table 48.

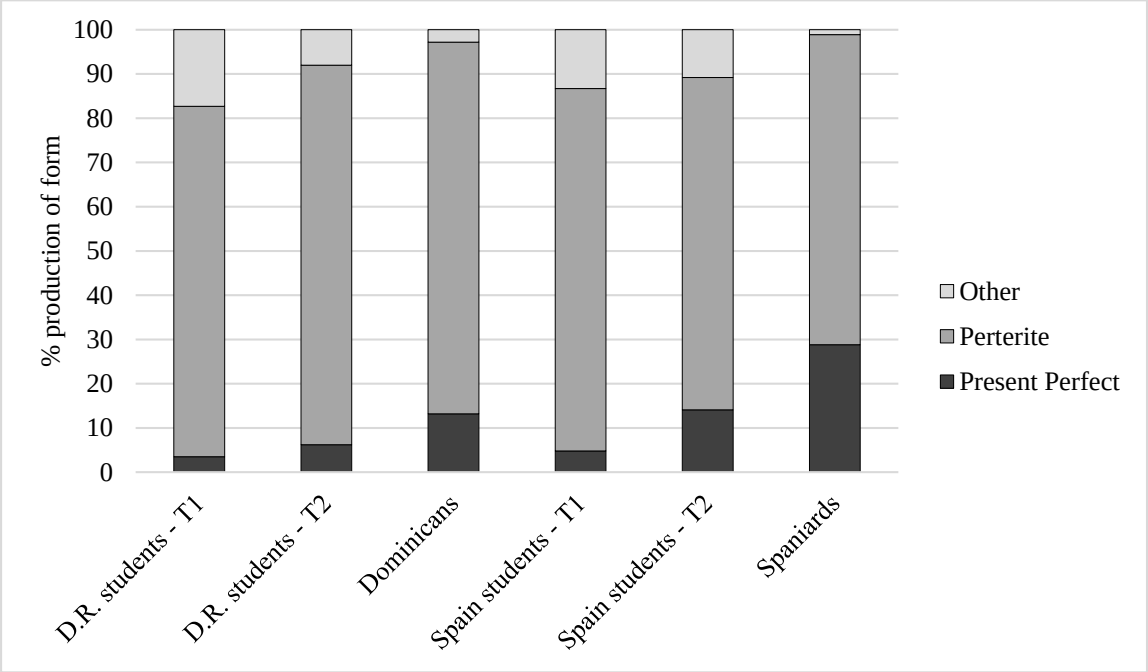
Table 48

Forms expressing completed events in the past produced in the interview

		Present Perfect		Preterite		Other		Total	
Group	Time	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
D.R. students	1	12	3.5	274	79.2	60	17.3	346	100
	2	24	6.2	333	85.8	31	8.0	388	100
Dominicans	n/a	78	13.2	497	84.0	17	2.9	592	100
Spain students	1	19	4.8	325	81.9	53	13.4	397	100
	2	82	14.1	438	75.1	63	10.8	583	100
Spaniards	n/a	135	28.8	328	70.1	5	1.1	468	100

Figure 7

Distribution of past tense forms produced in the interview by each group



All groups, including the native speakers and students at both testing times, produce the preterite forms more than two-thirds of the time. Following the preterite forms, both native speaker groups produce the present perfect more than the other forms. However, whereas the Spaniards produce the present perfect at a rate of 28.8%, the Dominicans only produce the present perfect at a rate of 13.2% which is around one-third of the Spaniard rate. Finally, both native speaker groups rarely produce other forms in the contexts under examination.

As far as the students' rates, we see that the D.R. students and Spain students produce the preterite forms at almost identical rates (≈ 80%) but the D.R. students produce other forms at a higher rate than the Spain students and the Spain students produce the present perfect at a slightly higher rate. As far as changes in rates between Time 1 and Time 2, the D.R. students increase their rates of the present perfect and preterite and reduce their

rates of other forms. Due to these changes, the rates of form use for every category are more similar to the Dominicans at Time 2 than Time 1. However, at Time 2, the D.R. students' rate of use of the present perfect is still less than half the Dominican rate and the rate of other forms is more than double the Dominican rate. The Spain students also increase their rates of the present perfect but more so than the D.R. students. Moreover, in contrast to the D.R. students, the Spain students decrease their rates of preterite forms. However, like the D.R. students, the Spain students rates are more similar to the Spaniard rates at Time 2 than Time 1, but the rates of the present perfect are still less than half the Spaniard rate whereas the preterite rates are five percentage points higher than the Spaniards and the other forms are more than nine percentage points higher than the Spaniards. These differences between groups were significant at Time 1 [$F = 30.865$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$] and Time 2 [$F = 13.839$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$]. Table 49 displays the rates of selection of the present perfect and the preterite forms in the WCT by each group.

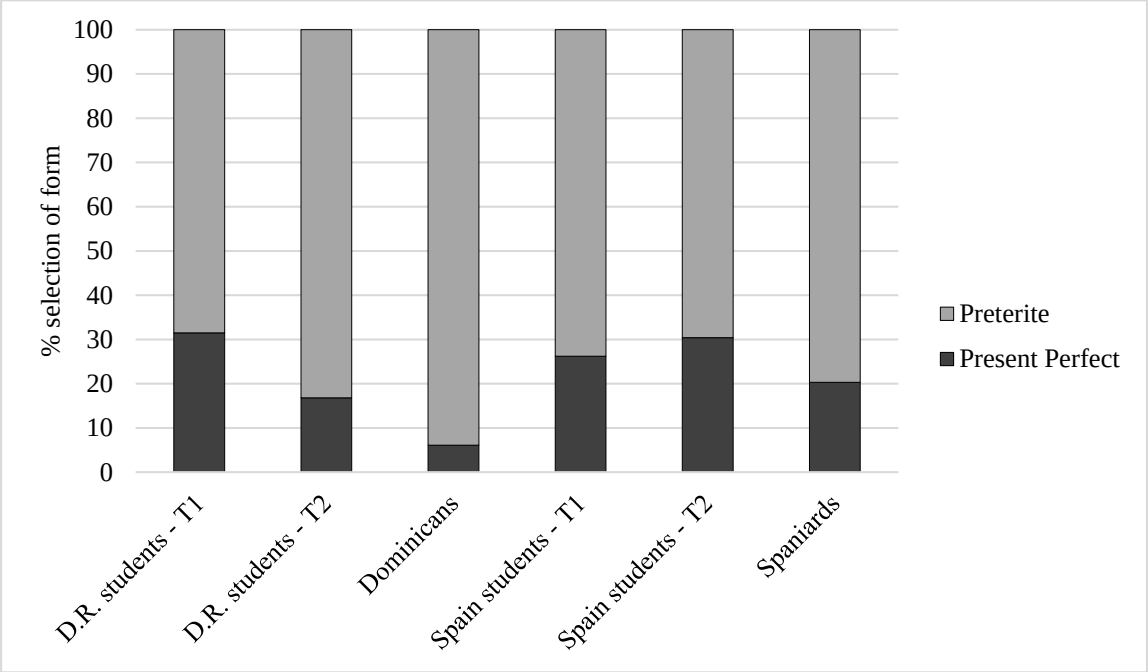
Table 49

Group Rates of selection of Present Perfect in the WCT

		Pres. Perfect		Preterite		Total	
Group	Time	N	%	N	%	N	%
D.R. students	1	45	31.5	98	68.5	143	100
	2	23	16.8	114	83.2	137	100
Dominicans	n/a	14	6.1	217	93.9	231	100
Spain students	1	37	26.2	104	73.8	141	100
	2	42	30.4	96	69.6	138	100
Spaniards	n/a	49	20.3	192	79.7	241	100

Figure 8

Distribution of past tense forms selected in the WCT by group



Similar to the interview, all groups selected higher rates of the preterite than the present perfect. As concerns the native speaker groups, we see that the Dominicans selected the preterite at a rate around 94% and the present perfect around 6%. The Spaniards, in contrast, selected the preterite about 80% of the time and the present perfect 20% of the time. For the students, at Time 1, the difference between the D.R. students and the Spain students was about five percentage points for each form with the D.R. students selecting more present perfect and less preterite than the Spain students. At Time 2, however, the D.R. students decrease their rates of selection of the present perfect and increase their rates of the preterite to rates that more closely resemble the Dominicans. The Spain students, on the other hand, increase their selection of the present perfect and decrease their selection of the preterite which makes them further away from the Spaniard rates. As a result, the difference between the two groups reaches 13.6%. However, despite the differences in

rates, One-Way ANOVAs showed no significant differences between groups at both Time 1 [F = 1.883, df = 3, p = .148] and Time 2 [F = 2.027, df = 3, p = .125].

4.1.2.1 Native speakers' individual rates of the present perfect in interview and WCT

In the subsequent sections, the individual rates of the production and selection of the present perfect in the interview and in the WCT are presented. In the first Table50, the rates of the production of the present perfect for each native speaker participant are presented.

Table 50

Rates of present perfect in the interview for each native speaker

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	5	55.2	Spain	11	3	20.0	**Dom. Rep.**
2	7	48.1	Spain	12	5	15.9	**Dom. Rep.**
3	6	45.0	Spain	13	4	15.7	Spain
4	8	38.5	Spain	14	9	15.2	**Dom. Rep.**
5	11	35.0	Spain	15	4	14.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	9	29.5	Spain	16	3	13.6	Spain
7	1	28.2	Spain	17	7	11.8	**Dom. Rep.**
7	2	28.2	Spain	18	8	8.5	**Dom. Rep.**
8	10	24.0	**Dom. Rep.**	19	1	7.0	**Dom. Rep.**
9	11	23.2	**Dom. Rep.**	20	2	6.1	**Dom. Rep.**
10	10	21.1	Spain	21	6	4.8	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. Dominican SD = 6.8%; range = 19.2 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 13.3%; range = 41.6 percentage points

Upon examination of the individual rates of the native speaker participants, we see that in general, the Spaniard participants produce higher rates of the present perfect than the Dominican participants which is reminiscent of the group trends. In fact, eight of the eleven Spaniards have rates of the present perfect that are higher than any of the Dominican participants. In addition to these findings, we see that the individual variation within the Spaniards is greater given the higher standard deviation and range. Finally, only one speaker produced the present perfect the majority of the time in comparison to the other

forms. In the next table, the rates of selection of the present perfect for each native speaker participant in the WCTs are presented.

Table 51

Rates of the present perfect in the WCT for each native speaker

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	*9*	*73.1*	*Dom. Rep.*	10	1	11.5	**Dom. Rep.**
2	3	42.9	Spain	10	10	11.5	**Dom. Rep.**
3	11	28.0	Spain	10	3	11.5	**Dom. Rep.**
3	*8*	*28.0*	*Dom. Rep.*	11	4	7.7	Spain
4	10	24.0	Spain	11	7	7.7	**Dom. Rep.**
4	8	24.0	Spain	12	2	4.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	6	20.8	Spain	13	4	3.8	**Dom. Rep.**
6	1	20.0	Spain	13	6	3.8	**Dom. Rep.**
7	2	19.2	Spain	14	*9*	*0.0*	*Spain*
8	5	15.4	Spain	14	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
9	7	12.0	Spain	14	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. Dominican SD = 4.7%; range = 11.5 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 9.7%; range = 35.2 percentage points

In the WCT we again see that the great majority of the Spaniard participants selected higher rates of the present perfect in the WCTs than the Dominican participants which also reflects the group trends. Indeed, nine of the ten included Spaniard participants select the present perfect at rates higher than the nine included Dominicans. There were no significant correlations found between individual participant rates in the interview and in the WCT [r = .326, N = 19, p = .173].

4.1.2.2 Students' individual rates of the present perfect in interview and WCT

Now the rates of production of the present perfect in the interview for the student participants at Time 1 are presented in Table 52.

Table 52

Rates of present perfect in the interview for each student at Time 1

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	1	16.7	**Dom. Rep.**	10	4	0.0	Spain
2	5	12.5	**Dom. Rep.**	10	5	0.0	Spain
3	10	11.5	Spain	10	6	0.0	Spain
4	7	7.4	Spain	10	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	2	6.6	Spain	10	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	9	6.3	Spain	10	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	3	3.7	Spain	10	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
8	8	2.9	Spain	10	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
9	4	2.3	**Dom. Rep.**	10	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
10	1	0.0	Spain	10	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
10	11	0.0	Spain	10	9	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 5.9%; range = 16.7 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 4.0%; range = 11.5 percentage points

At Time 1, we see that 19 of the 22 participants produce present perfect forms less than 10% of the time. Furthermore, 13 of the 22 participants never produced the present perfect in the interview at Time 1. Within the speakers that did produce the present perfect, three were D.R. students and six were Spain students. The results for the individual rates of production of the present prefect by the student participants at Time 2 are presented in Table 53.

Table 53

Rates of present perfect in the interview for each student at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	7	36.1	Spain	12	2	5.0	Spain
2	5	23.8	**Dom. Rep.**	13	10	3.4	**Dom. Rep.**
3	10	20.3	Spain	14	11	2.9	**Dom. Rep.**
4	4	20.0	**Dom. Rep.**	15	1	0.0	Spain
5	6	18.3	Spain	15	11	0.0	Spain
6	9	16.7	Spain	15	3	0.0	Spain
7	1	11.1	**Dom. Rep.**	15	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
8	8	9.5	**Dom. Rep.**	15	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
9	5	8.7	Spain	15	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
10	8	8.3	Spain	15	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
11	4	5.6	Spain	15	9	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 8.6%; range = 23.8 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 11.1%; range = 36.1 percentage points

In contrast to Time 1, at Time 2 fourteen of the student participants produced the present perfect in the interview and seven of those produced the present perfect more than 10% of the time. Unlike the native speakers, however, it is not the case that the majority of Spain students produced higher rates of the present perfect than the D.R. students. In addition, a significant positive correlation was found between students' rates of present perfect at Time 1 and Time 2 [$r = .570$, $N = 22$, $p < .01$]. The following Table 54 shows the percent change in rates of the present perfect for each participant in the interview.

Table 54

Percent change of present perfect rates for each student participants between Time 1 and 2 in the interview

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	7	+28.7	Spain
2	6	+18.3	Spain
3	4	+17.7	**Dom. Rep.**
4	5	+11.3	**Dom. Rep.**
5	9	+10.4	Spain
6	8	+9.5	**Dom. Rep.**
7	10	+8.8	Spain
8	5	+8.7	Spain
9	4	+5.6	Spain
10	8	+5.4	Spain
10	10	+3.4	**Dom. Rep.**
11	11	+2.9	**Dom. Rep.**
12	1	0.0	Spain
12	11	0.0	Spain
12	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
12	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
12	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
12	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
12	9	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
13	2	-1.6	Spain
14	3	-3.7	Spain
15	1	-5.6	**Dom. Rep.**

Twelve of the student participants increased their rates of production of the present perfect, seven showed no change between Time 1 and Time 2 whereas three students decreased their rates. Within the students that increased their rates, seven were Spain students and five were D.R. students. Within the seven Spain students that increased their rates, all were closer to the Spaniard overall group rate. Within the five D.R. students that increased their rates of present perfect, four were closer to the native Dominican overall group rate at Time 2 than Time 1. The two Spain students that decreased their rates were further from the Spaniard group rate at Time 2. In contrast, the one D.R. student that decreased their rate was closer to the Dominican overall group rate at Time 2. Including all students, seven Spain students produced the present perfect at a rate closer to the Spaniard rate at Time 2 whereas five D.R. students produced the present perfect at a rate closer to the Dominican group rate. We now turn to the rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT for each individual student participant at Time 1 which are shown in Table 55.

Table 55

Rates of Present Perfect in the WCT for each student at Time 1

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	6	64.3	**Dom. Rep.**	8	1	27.3	**Dom. Rep.**
2	9	57.1	**Dom. Rep.**	9	11	25.0	Spain
3	9	50.0	Spain	10	2	21.4	Spain
4	8	42.9	Spain	11	2	16.7	**Dom. Rep.**
4	10	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	11	8	16.7	**Dom. Rep.**
4	11	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	12	7	15.4	Spain
5	1	41.7	Spain	13	4	14.3	Spain
5	5	41.7	Spain	14	7	8.3	**Dom. Rep.**
5	6	41.7	Spain	15	10	0.0	Spain
6	3	33.3	**Dom. Rep.**	15	3	0.0	Spain
7	4	28.6	**Dom. Rep.**	15	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 20.0%; range = 64.3 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 17.9%; range = 50.0 percentage points

In contrast to the interview, only three students did not select the present perfect. In addition, three students selected the present perfect more than half the time. Similar to the interview, there doesn't appear to be a clear distinction between groups regarding the individual rates given that there are students that selected both high and low rates of the present perfect in both groups. Table 56 portrays the results of the selection of the present perfect in the WCT at Time 2 for each individual student participant.

Table 56

Rates of the present perfect in the WCT for each student at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country	Rank	Part. #	% PP	Country
1	2	58.3	Spain	7	1	23.1	**Dom. Rep.**
1	4	58.3	**Dom. Rep.**	7	7	23.1	**Dom. Rep.**
2	4	50.0	Spain	8	2	15.4	**Dom. Rep.**
2	8	50.0	Spain	9	10	8.3	**Dom. Rep.**
3	1	38.5	Spain	9	5	8.3	**Dom. Rep.**
4	3	33.3	Spain	10	11	7.7	Spain
4	7	33.3	Spain	10	5	7.7	Spain
5	10	30.8	Spain	10	6	7.7	Spain
6	6	25.0	**Dom. Rep.**	11	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	9	25.0	**Dom. Rep.**	11	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	9	23.1	Spain	11	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 17.1%; range = 58.3 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 18.0%; range = 50.6 percentage points

At Time 2, we now see that the students are somewhat grouped based on location of study abroad. For instance, out of the eleven students with the highest rates of selection of the present perfect, eight were Spain students. In addition, the speakers that never selected the present perfect were all D.R. students. Finally, no significant correlations were found between present perfect rates at Time 1 and Time 2 [$r = -.108$, $N = 22$, $p = .631$]. Finally, the percent difference of the rate of present perfect selected in the WCT between Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 57.

Table 57

Percent change of present perfect rates in the WCT for each student between Time 1 and 2

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country	Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	2	+36.9	Spain	12	1	-4.2	**Dom. Rep.**
2	4	+35.7	Spain	13	8	-16.7	**Dom. Rep.**
3	3	+33.3	Spain	14	11	-17.3	Spain
4	10	+30.8	Spain	15	9	-26.9	Spain
5	4	+29.7	**Dom. Rep.**	16	9	-32.1	**Dom. Rep.**
6	7	+17.9	Spain	17	3	-33.3	**Dom. Rep.**
7	7	+14.8	**Dom. Rep.**	18	5	-34.0	Spain
8	5	+8.3	**Dom. Rep.**	18	6	-34.0	Spain
9	8	+7.1	Spain	19	10	-34.6	**Dom. Rep.**
10	2	-1.3	**Dom. Rep.**	20	6	-39.3	**Dom. Rep.**
11	1	-3.2	Spain	21	11	-42.9	**Dom. Rep.**

As shown in Table 57, six of the Spain students increased their rates of selection of the present perfect between Time 1 and Time 2 and five students decreased their rates. Among the Spain students that decreased their rates of present perfect selection, four had rates that were closer to the Spaniard rate at Time 2 than Time 1. However, of the six Spain students that increased their rates, four of the six ended with rates further from than the Spaniard overall group rate. For the D.R. students, three students increased their rates of selection of the present perfect whereas eight students decreased their rates of selection on the present perfect. At Time 2, nine out of 11 D.R. students had rates that were closer to the Dominican overall group rate.

4.1.3 Overall Rates of object forms in interview and WCT

In this section, the distribution of the object forms produced by the speaker groups in the interview are presented. The token count (N) and the percent of the total (%) are displayed for each group with the students' rates at each data collection time split into separate rows.

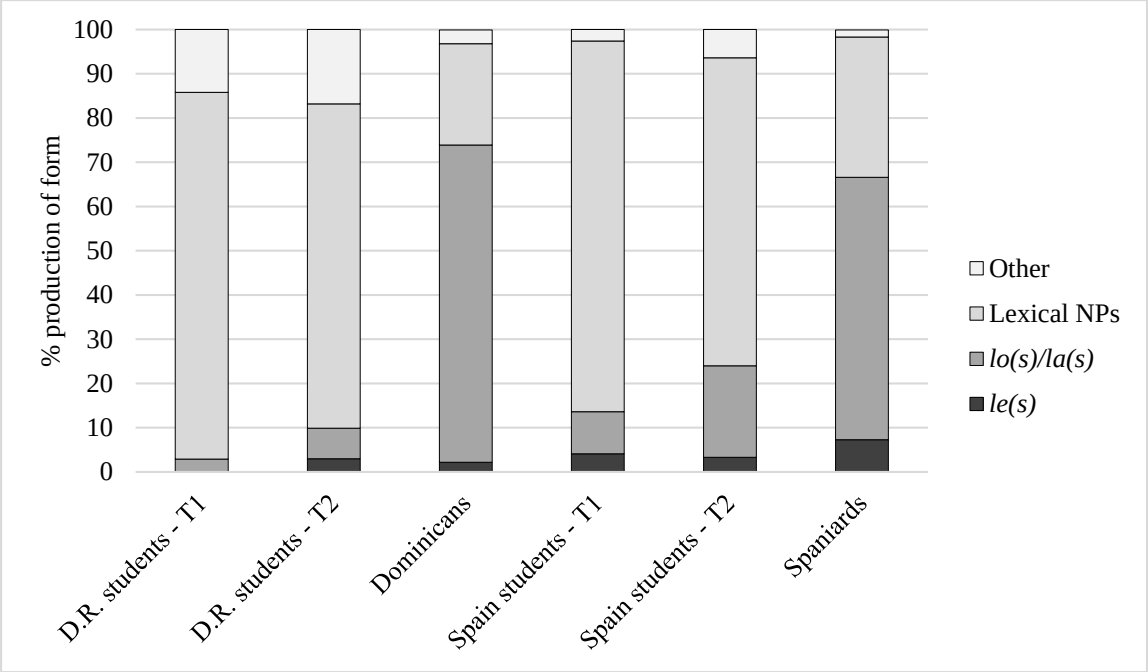
Table 58

Object forms produced in the interview

Group	*Time*	*le(s)*		*lo(s)/la(s)*		Lexical NP		Other		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
D.R.S.	1	0	0.0	1	2.9	29	82.9	5	14.3	35	100
	2	3	3.0	7	6.9	74	73.3	17	16.8	101	100
Doms.	n/a	5	2.2	160	71.7	51	22.9	7	3.1	223	100
Spain	1	3	4.1	7	9.5	62	83.8	2	2.7	74	100
	2	3	3.3	19	20.7	64	69.6	6	6.5	92	100
Spans.	n/a	9	7.3	73	59.3	39	31.7	2	1.6	123	100

Figure 9

Distribution of object forms produced in the interview by each group



Both groups of native speakers show similar trends: the direct object pronouns are the most frequent, followed by lexical NPs, then indirect object pronouns and other forms show the lowest rates. However, the Spaniards produce more indirect object pronouns *le(s)* in accusative contexts than other forms whereas for the Dominicans the trend is the opposite. Indeed, although there are few tokens, the Spaniards produce indirect object pronouns at a rate more than three times the Dominicans. However, the Dominicans in the

current study produced indirect object pronouns in accusative contexts which has not been documented in previous research. Nevertheless, indirect object pronouns are very infrequent for both groups (three tokens for the Dominicans and nine tokens for the Spaniards).

Turning now to the students, we see that in contrast to the native speaker groups, the most frequent forms used were lexical NPs at Time 1 and Time 2. Indeed, the closest any student group got to either native speaker groups was the Spain students who produced lexical NPs at a rate 37.9 percentage points higher than the Spaniards. In a similar fashion, at Time 2, the Spain students also produced the most target-like rate of direct object pronouns but were still producing them at a rate 38.6 percentage points lower than the Spaniards.

After lexical NPs, the D.R. students produce other forms, then direct objects, followed by indirect objects at both Time 1 and Time 2. However, there are subtle changes over time. The D.R. students slightly increase rates of direct objects, indirect objects, and other forms which is accompanied by a decrease in the rates of lexical NPs. Hence, with the exception of the other forms category, the D.R. students' rates at Time 2 are more similar to the Dominicans than their rates at Time 1. The Spain students, on the other hand, produce direct objects, then indirect objects, then other forms at Time 1 and direct objects, then other forms, then indirect objects at Time 2. Regarding change over time, the Spain students increased their overall rate of use of direct objects and other forms and decreased their use of indirect objects and lexical NPs. The rates of direct object pronouns and Lexical NPs were more similar to the Spaniards at Time 2 but the rates of other forms and indirect

object forms were less similar at Time 2. Now the group rates for the selection of object pronouns in the WCT are presented in Table 59.

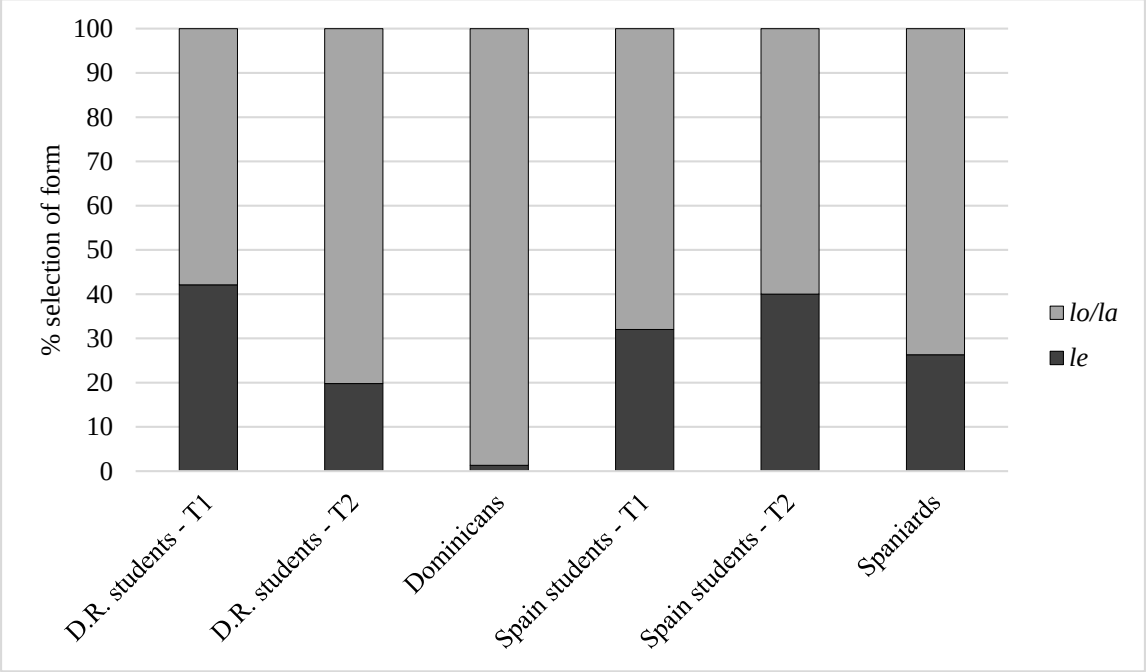
Table 59

Group Rates of selection of object pronouns in the WCT

		le		*lo/la*		Total	
Group	Time	N	%	N	%	N	%
D.R. students	1	40	42.1	55	57.9	95	100
	2	19	19.8	77	80.2	96	100
Dominicans	n/a	2	1.3	157	98.7	159	100
Spain students	1	31	32.0	66	68.0	97	100
	2	40	40.0	60	60.0	100	100
Spaniards	n/a	45	26.3	126	73.7	171	100

Figure 10

Distribution of object forms selected in the WCT by group



All groups (at both data collection times for the students) selected more direct object pronouns than indirect object pronouns. For the native speakers, similar to the interview data, the Spaniards selected higher rates of *le* in accusative contexts than the Dominicans. In fact, the Dominicans almost exclusively select *lo/la* whereas the Spaniards

select *le* more than 25% of the time. However, in contrast the interview, the proportion of object pronouns that are indirect is much higher in the WCT than it is in the interview as shown in Table 60 that displays the distribution of only object pronouns in the interview.

Table 60

Object pronouns produced in the interview

		le(s)		*lo(s)/la(s)*	
Group	Time	N	%	N	%
D.R. students	1	0	0.0	1	100
	2	3	30.0	7	70.0
Dominicans	n/a	5	3.0	160	97.0
Spain students	1	3	30.0	7	70.0
	2	3	13.6	19	86.4
Spaniards	n/a	9	11.0	73	89.0

Regarding the student groups, we see that at Time 1 both groups selected *le* at rates higher than both native speaker groups. In addition, the D.R. students selected *le* at a rate ten percentage points higher than the Spain students. Between Time 1 and Time 2, the D.R. students decrease their rates of selection of *le* more than 22 percentage points which is closer to the Dominican rate whereas the Spain students increase their selection of *le* eight percentage points which is even further away from the Spaniard rate. A One-way ANOVA comparing means between groups was significant [$F=7.595$, $df = 5$, $p<.001$].

4.1.3.1 Native speakers' individual rates of le(s) in interview and WCT[15]

The following Table 61 shows the individual rates of *le(s)* produced by the native speakers in the interview.

[15] Although bivariate correlations were run between tasks and times for subject pronouns, they were not run for the productions of *le(s)* in the interview because most of the participants never produced them in accusative contexts in the interview.

Table 61

Rates of *le(s)* in the interview for each native speaker

Rank	Part. #	% *le(s)*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le(s)*	Country
1	6	40.0	Spain	7	7	0.0	Spain
2	9	25.0	**Dom. Rep.**	7	10	0.0	Spain
3	8	20.0	Spain	7	11	0.0	Spain
4	9	7.7	Spain	7	1	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	5	2.2	**Dom. Rep.**	7	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	7	2.1	**Dom. Rep.**	7	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	1	0.0	Spain	7	4	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	2	0.0	Spain	7	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	3	0.0	Spain	7	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	4	0.0	Spain	7	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
7	5	0.0	Spain	7	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. Dominican SD = 7.5%; range = 25 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 12.8%; range = 40 percentage points

Only six native speakers produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts in the interview: Three Dominicans and three Spaniards. The great majority of speakers (n = 16) never produced *le(s)* in an accusative context in the interview. Given these findings, there is no

clear distinction between the Spaniards and the Dominicans. The results for the rates of *le* selected in the WCT are now presented in Table 62.

Table 62

Rates of selection of *le* in the WCT for each native speaker

Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country
1	*9*	*55.6*	*Dom. Rep.*	7	*9*	*11.1*	*Spain*
2	2	33.3	Spain	7	*8*	*11.1*	*Dom. Rep.*
2	11	33.3	Spain	8	3	5.6	**Dom. Rep.**
3	3	30.0	Spain	8	4	5.6	**Dom. Rep.**
4	5	27.8	Spain	9	1	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
4	8	27.8	Spain	9	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
4	10	27.8	Spain	9	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	1	22.2	Spain	9	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	6	22.2	Spain	9	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	7	22.2	Spain	9	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	4	17.6	Spain	9	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. Dominican SD = 2.5%; range = 5.6 percentage points
Spaniard SD = 5.2%; range = 15.7 percentage points

In the WCT, excluding the outliers, all Spaniards selected *le* at rates higher than any of the Dominicans. In fact, only two of the non-outlier Dominicans selected *le* on the task. Most—seven of the nine included Dominican participants—never selected *le* in the WCT.

4.1.3.2 Students' individual rates of le(s) in interview and WCT

We now turn to the individual rates of *le(s)* produced by the students in the interview at Time 1 (Table 63) and Time 2 (Table 64).

Table 63

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by each student at Time 1[16]

Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country
1	5	22.2	Spain	3	1	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
2	7	6.3	Spain	3	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	1	0.0	Spain	3	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	2	0.0	Spain	3	4	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	3	0.0	Spain	3	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	4	0.0	Spain	3	6	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	6	0.0	Spain	3	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	8	0.0	Spain	3	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	9	0.0	Spain	3	9	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	10	0.0	Spain	3	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
3	11	0.0	Spain	3	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

At Time 1, only two Spain students produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts. Hence, although the overall rates of *le(s)* by the Spain student group is 4.1%, this only reflects the production of these forms by two participants. All of the D.R. students and other Spain students never produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts in the interview at Time 1. The next table shows the production of *le(s)* in accusative contexts in the interview at Time 2 by each individual student participant.

[16] Given the low rate of production of *le(s)* by the students at Times 1 and 2, the standard deviations and range of production were not determined.

Table 64

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by each student at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% *le(s)*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le(s)*	Country
1	6	16.7	**Dom. Rep.**	6	9	0.0	Spain
2	5	14.3	Spain	6	10	0.0	Spain
3	1	10.0	**Dom. Rep.**	6	11	0.0	Spain
4	7	8.0	Spain	6	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	9	4.5	**Dom. Rep.**	6	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	1	0.0	Spain	6	4	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	2	0.0	Spain	6	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	3	0.0	Spain	6	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	4	0.0	Spain	6	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	6	0.0	Spain	6	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	8	0.0	Spain	6	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**

At Time 2, the same two Spain students produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts and three D.R. students that did not produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts at Time 1 do so at Time 2. Again, the great majority of students in both groups never produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts. The following Table 62 presents the changes in rates for each individual participant between Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 65

Percent change of *le* rates for each student between Time 1 and 2 in the interview

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country	Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	6	+16.7	**Dom. Rep.**	5	10	0.0	Spain
2	1	+10.0	**Dom. Rep.**	5	11	0.0	Spain
3	9	+4.5	**Dom. Rep.**	5	2	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
4	7	+1.7	Spain	5	3	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	1	0.0	Spain	5	4	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	2	0.0	Spain	5	5	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	3	0.0	Spain	5	7	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	4	0.0	Spain	5	8	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	6	0.0	Spain	5	10	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	8	0.0	Spain	5	11	0.0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	9	0.0	Spain	6	5	-7.9	Spain

As shown in the previous Table 62, there are not many changes regarding individual rates between Time 1 and Time 2. This is due in most part to the fact that most students

never produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts. Among those students that did produce *le(s)* at one time, three students from the D.R. who did not previously produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts at Time 1 use them at Time 2, one of the Spain students increases their rates of *le(s)* at Time 2 whereas the other one decreases. Now the results for the selection of *le* for each individual student participant in the WCT are displayed in the following Tables 66 and 67.

Table 66

Rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by each student at Time 1

Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country
1	5	75	Spain	7	5	40	**Dom. Rep.**
2	10	70	**Dom. Rep.**	8	1	37.5	Spain
3	8	62.5	**Dom. Rep.**	8	11	37.5	Spain
4	2	60	Spain	9	8	30	Spain
5	3	50	**Dom. Rep.**	9	6	30	**Dom. Rep.**
5	11	50	**Dom. Rep.**	9	9	30	**Dom. Rep.**
6	6	42.9	Spain	10	3	20	Spain
6	1	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	11	9	12.5	Spain
6	2	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	12	4	10	**Dom. Rep.**
6	7	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	13	4	0	Spain
7	7	40	Spain	13	10	0	Spain

Note. D.R. students: SD = 16.3%; range = 60 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 23.3%; range = 75 percentage points

At Time 1, both the Spain students and the D.R. students show quite a bit of individual variation in the WCT. Although the Spain students tend to have lower rates of selection of *le* than the D.R. students, there are students from both groups that selected high and low rates of *le*. The next table shows the rates of *le* selection in the WCT at Time 2.

Table 67

Rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by each student at Time 2

Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country	Rank	Part. #	% *le*	Country
1	4	75	Spain	6	2	37.5	Spain
2	1	60	Spain	6	4	37.5	**Dom. Rep.**
3	5	50	Spain	7	3	25	Spain
3	10	50	**Dom. Rep.**	7	8	25	Spain
4	9	42.9	**Dom. Rep.**	8	6	12.5	**Dom. Rep.**
5	10	40	Spain	9	7	0	Spain
5	9	40	Spain	9	5	0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	11	40	Spain	9	2	0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	6	40	Spain	9	7	0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	1	40	**Dom. Rep.**	9	3	0	**Dom. Rep.**
5	8	40	**Dom. Rep.**	9	11	0	**Dom. Rep.**

Note. D.R. students: SD = 21.4%; range = 50 percentage points
Spain students: SD = 19.4%; range = 75 percentage points

At Time 2, it is now the Spain students that tend to select *le* at higher rates than the D.R. students. Whereas seven of the 11 students that selected *le* the most were Spain students, seven of the 11 students that selected *le* the least were D.R. students. In addition, of the five students that never selected *le* at Time 2, four of them are D.R. students. The following Table shows the percent differences of rates of selection of *le* in the WCT for each student between Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 68

Percent change of *le* rates for each student between Time 1 and 2 in the WCT

Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country	Rank	Part. #	% diff.	Country
1	4	+75.0	Spain	10	6	-17.5	**Dom. Rep.**
2	10	+40.0	Spain	11	10	-20	**Dom. Rep.**
3	4	+27.5	**Dom. Rep.**	12	8	-22.5	**Dom. Rep.**
3	9	+27.5	Spain	12	2	-22.5	Spain
4	1	+22.5	Spain	13	5	-25.0	Spain
5	9	+12.9	**Dom. Rep.**	14	5	-40.0	**Dom. Rep.**
6	3	+5.0	Spain	14	7	-40.0	Spain
7	11	+2.5	Spain	15	2	-42.9	**Dom. Rep.**
8	1	-2.9	**Dom. Rep.**	15	7	-42.9	**Dom. Rep.**
8	6	-2.9	Spain	16	11	-50.0	**Dom. Rep.**
9	8	-5.0	Spain	16	3	-50.0	**Dom. Rep.**

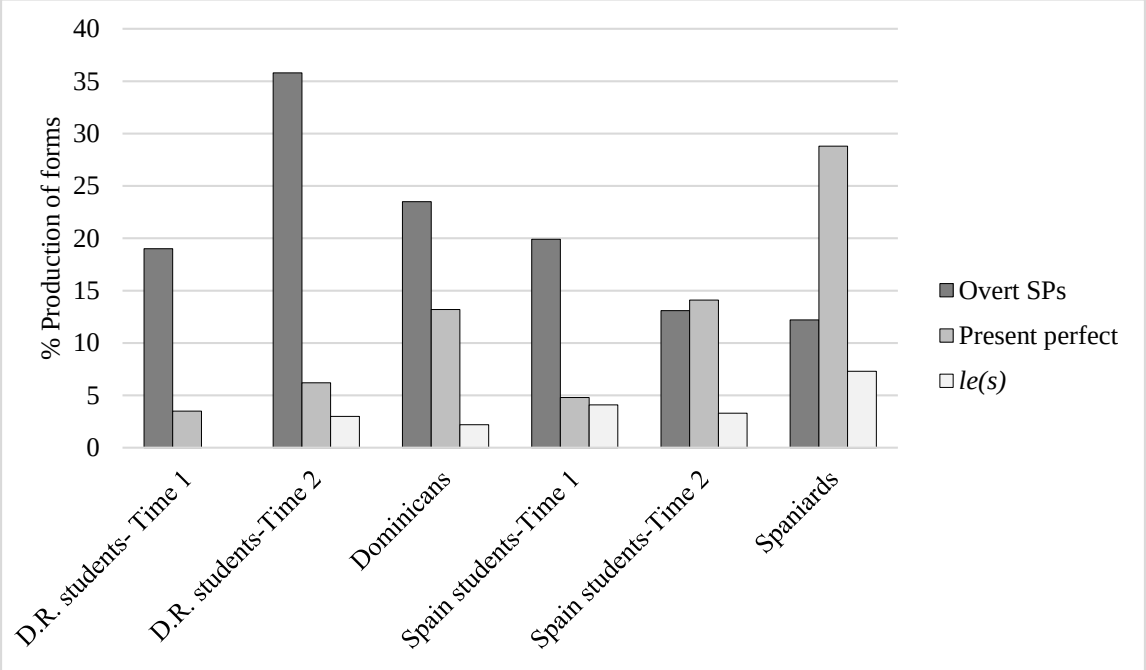
Out of the eight students that increased their rates of *le*, six were Spain students. Out of the 14 students that decreased their rates, nine were D.R. students. Also, nine of the 11 D.R. students were closer to the Dominican group rate of 1.3% at Time 2 than at Time 1 whereas 6 Spain students were closer to the Spaniard rate of 26.3% at Time 2 than Time 1. Moreover, for the Spain students, 10 students either were closer to the goal and/or they increased their rates of selection of *le*. The D.R. students significantly decreased their rates of selection of *le* [F = 8.219, df = 1, p = .017]. However, the difference between Times 1 and 2 was not significant for the Spain students [F = .503, df = 1, p = .494].

4.1.4 Summary of results for rates of selection and production of forms

By way of summary, in this section, a comparison is made between the rates of production/selection of overt SPs, *le(s)* and the present perfect in each of the tasks for each group. The first Figure 11 presents the rates of the aforementioned forms in the interview.

Figure 11

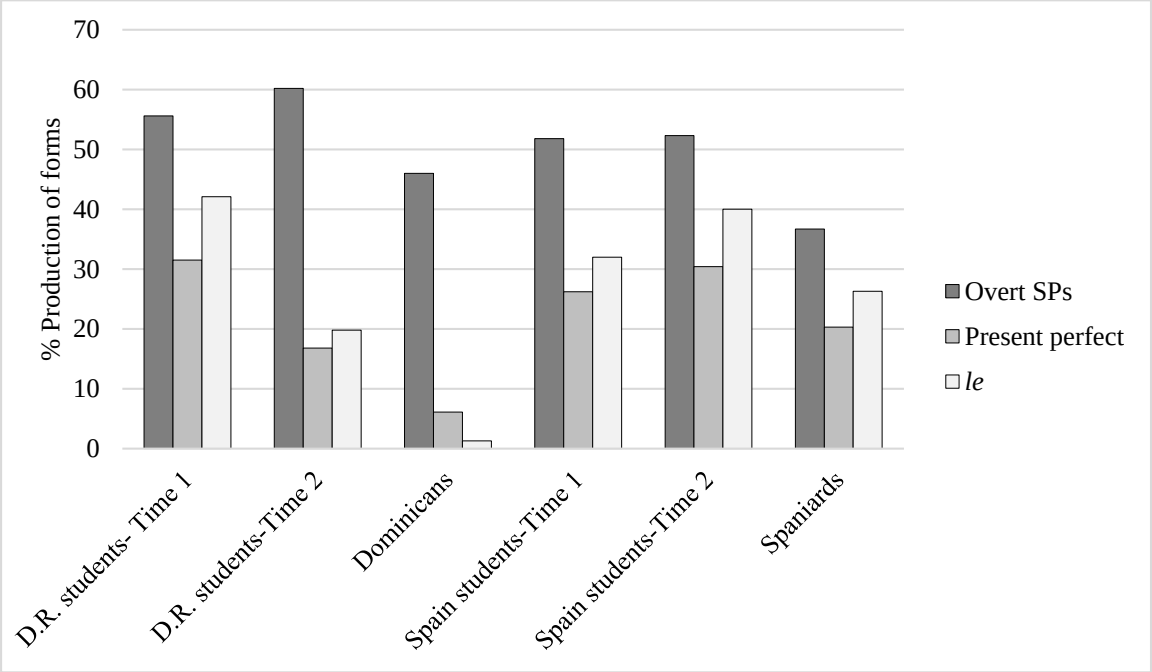
Rates of overt SPs, the present perfect, and *le(s)* in the interview for each group



At Time 1, we see that the trends are the same for both student groups of producing the highest rates of overt SPs, followed by the present perfect, then finally *le(s)*. This is the same trend as found for the Dominicans. At Time 2, however, the trends between student groups differ. Whereas the D.R. students demonstrate the same trends as Time 1 and the Dominicans, the Spain students show the same trends as the Spaniards by producing the highest rates of the present perfect, followed by overt SPs, then *le(s)*. Regarding the specific forms, both the student groups produce overt SPs around 20% of the time at Time 1 which is lower than the Dominican rate and higher than the Spaniard rate. At Time 2, however, the D.R. students increase their rate of production of overt SPs to a rate higher than the Dominicans whereas the Spain students decrease their rates to a rate comparable to the Spaniards. Regarding the production of *le(s)* in accusative contexts, D.R. students never used them at Time 1 in the included contexts and used them minimally at Time 2 similar to the Dominicans. The Spain students, on the other hand, produce *le(s)* at rates lower than 5% at both Time 1 and Time 2. At both times, their overall rate is lower than the Spaniard rate. Finally, regarding the present perfect, both the student groups produced the present perfect at comparable rates that were lower than both native speaker group rates. At Time 2, both groups increased their rates of production of the present perfect but the Spain students increased their rates more than the D.R. students to a rate slightly higher than the Dominicans. However, the rates of both groups are still lower than their native-speaker counterparts. Next we have a summary of the results for the rates of selection of forms in the WCT which begins with Figure 12 showing the rates of each form at each testing time.

Figure 12

Rates of overt SPs, *le* and the present perfect in the WCT for each group



For the D.R. students and Spain students at Time 1 and Time 2, the trend is the same as the Spaniards in that the highest rates of selection were found with the overt SPs, followed by *le*, then the present perfect. However, at Time 1, both student groups select these three forms at rates higher than both native speaker groups. In addition, the D.R. students select each of these forms at higher rates than the Spain students in every case. For the D.R. students between Time 1 and Time 2, the rates of selection of overt SPs increases to a rate even further from the Dominican rate whereas the rates of *le* and the present perfect decrease to rates that are lower than the Spaniard rates and closer to the Dominican rates. Nevertheless, at Time 2, the D.R. students still select all three forms at rates that are higher than the Dominican rates. Although the same trend was found for the overt SPs and *le(s)* at Time 2 in the interview, the D.R. students produced the present perfect less than the Dominicans in the interview. The Spain students, on the other hand,

show a less than 1% change in rates of selection of overt SPs but both the rates of selection of *le* and the present perfect increase to rates even further from the Spaniard rates. Hence, like the D.R. students, the Spain students demonstrate rates of selection of all three forms that continue to be higher than the Spaniard rates. This contrasts with the results for the interview in which the Spain students had rates that were lower than the Spaniards for *le(s)* and the present perfect at both Time 1 and Time 2.

4.2 Results of the logistic regressions for the three structures in the interview and WCT

In the subsequent sections, the results for the binary logistic regressions and Chi-square tests are presented. We begin by presenting the results for the subject form variation, followed by the present perfect, and finally object pronouns. As will be discussed for each individual structure, some portions of the data that were excluded in some cases in order for the appropriate statistical test to be run and to avoid empty cells.

4.2.1 Data included in the regression analyses of subject forms

For the interview data, only the tokens that were accompanied by either a null or Overt SP were included in the regression analyses since only third-person referents allowed for additional subject forms such as lexical NPs. If additional subject forms such as Lexical NPs were included in the analysis, the regression model would assume that these forms would potentially be allowed for each token which is not the case for all persons and numbers. Null and overt SPs, however, are allowed for all persons and numbers. In addition, 2nd person referents were excluded given that they represented less than 3% of the data overall and within certain student groups, less than 1% of the data.

4.2.1.1 Binary logistic regression results for the subject pronouns produced in the interview

We begin with the presentation of the results for the binary logistic regression for subject pronouns (null vs. overt SP) produced in the oral interview for each group at each time. Included in the model was Person/Number (P/N), Clause Type (Clause), Continuity of Reference (ContRef), Perseveration (Persev), TMA Continuity (TMAcont), and TMA. The following Table 66 presents the results for each group with two regressions run for each of the student groups (one for each testing time). In Table 69, the groups are separated into the rows and the factors are presented in the columns. An 'X' indicates that the factor was significant in the regression model for that group whereas the asterisks indicate the relative p-value for the factor.

Table 69

Significant factors constraining subject pronoun variation for the interview data found in the regression models

	P/N	Clause	ContRef	Persev	TMAcont	TMA
D.R.S. – T1	X***	X*			X**	X*
D.R.S. – T2	X***	X***	X***	X***		X*
Dominicans	X***	X***	X***	X*		X***
S.S. – T1	X*		X*	X***		X*
S.S. – T2	X***		X*	X***	X**	X*
Spaniards	X***		X*	X**		X**

Note. * = p <.05, ** = p <.01, *** = p <.001

Variation between null and overt SPs is constrained by the same factors for the Dominicans as it is for Spaniards with one exception: Whereas variation is constrained by Clause Type for the Dominicans, it is not significant for the Spaniards. Regarding the students, we see that at Time 1 the D.R. students' variation is constrained by Person/Number, Clause Type, TMA Continuity, and TMA. At Time 2, variation is constrained by the same five factors as the Dominicans: Person/Number, Clause Type,

Continuity of Reference, Perseveration, and TMA. Moreover, the factor Clause Type increases in significance between Time 1 and Time 2. Similar to the D.R. students, the Spain students' variation at Time 1 is constrained by Person/Number and TMA. However, in contrast to the D.R. students, it is also constrained by Continuity of Reference and Perseveration but not Clause Type or TMA Continuity. At Time 2, their variation is constrained by the same factors as the Spaniards except for TMA Continuity which is significant for the Spain students but not the Spaniards. Moreover, at Time 2, variation is constrained by Person/Number, Continuity of Reference, Perseveration, and TMA for both student groups with the only difference being that Clause Type is significant for the D.R. students and TMA Continuity for the Spain students.

4.2.1.2 Distribution of subject pronouns within the categories of the linguistic factors for the interview

In this section, the rates of overt SPs within the categories of each linguistic variable are presented for each group. Each table includes the total number of tokens in each category (N) and the percent of those tokens that were overt SPs (% *pro*) and finally the p-value taken from the WALD Chi-square tests in the regression. The tables are followed by bar charts that show the percentage of the subject pronouns that were overt for each category of the linguistic factors for each group.

4.2.1.2.1 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by Person/Number

We begin by presenting the rates of the production of overt SPs in the interview within each category of Person/Number.

Table 70

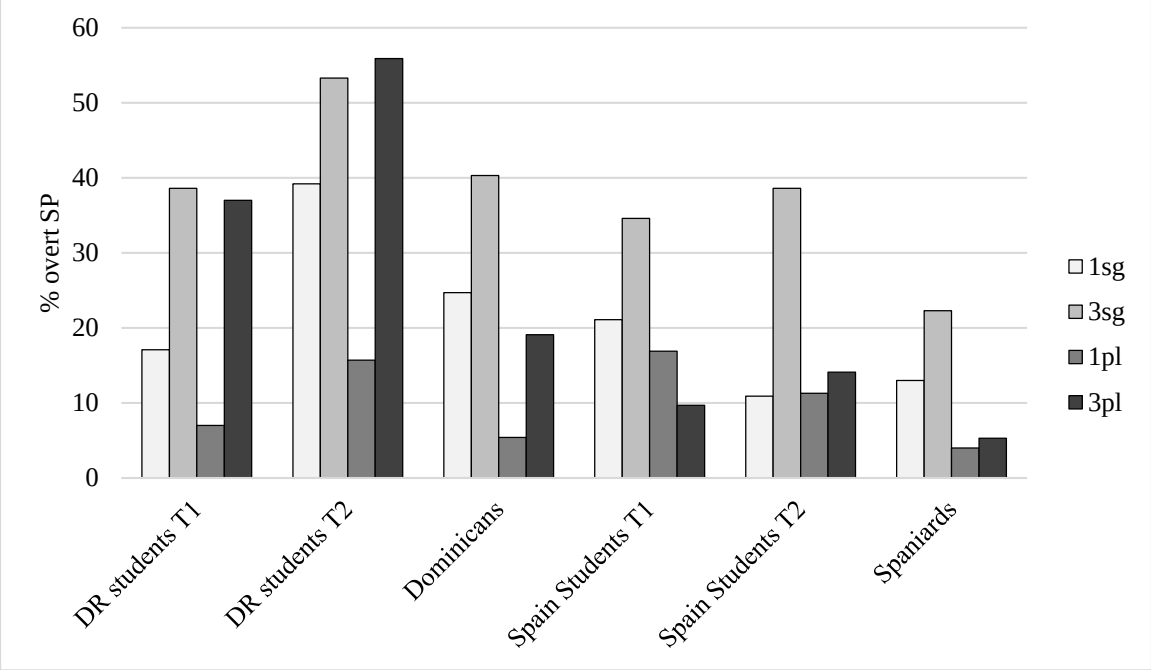
Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Person/Number

	1sg		3sg		1pl		3pl		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R.S. T1	764	*17.1*	249	*38.6*	115	*7.0*	46	*37.0*	< .001
D.R.S. T2	1040	*39.2*	210	*53.3*	198	*15.7*	127	*55.9*	< .001
Doms.	891	*24.7*	414	*40.3*	204	*5.4*	131	*19.1*	< .001
S.S. T1	908	*21.1*	263	*34.6*	154	*16.9*	62	*9.7*	< .05
S.S. T2	1096	*10.9*	197	*38.6*	247	*11.3*	85	*14.1*	< .001
Spans.	818	*13.0*	373	*22.3*	199	*4.0*	57	*5.3*	< .001

For the native speaker groups, we see that although the rates of overt SPs are higher in every category for the Dominicans, the direction of the effect for both groups is the same: The highest rates of overt SPs accompany 3sg referents, followed by 1sg, then 3pl, and finally 1pl. For the D.R. students, at Time 1 they also produced the highest rates of overt SPs with 3sg referents and the lowest with 1pl. However, unlike the native speaker groups, they show higher rates of overt SPs accompanying 3pl referents than with 1sg. At Time 2, the D.R. students increase the rate of overt SPs in all categories but the distribution is similar to Time 1 with one exception: now the 3pl referents have the highest rates of overt SPs instead of the 3sg. Moreover, the rates of overt SPs in every category of this factor are higher than both native speaker groups. The Spain students show the highest rates of overt SPs with 3sg referents not only at Time 1, but Time 2 as well. Between Time 1 and 2, they increase their rates of overt SPs with 3sg and 3pl referents while decreasing their rates of overt SPs with 1sg and 1pl. Overall, the rates of overt SPs are closer to the Spaniards at Time 2 for first-person referents but not third-person referents. The following Figure 13 presents the differing rates visually.

Figure 13

Rates of overt SP produced in the interview within categories of Person/Number



4.2.1.2.2 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by Clause Type

In the same manner as with Person/Number, the rates of overt SPs for each group within the categories of Clause Type is presented in the following Table 68. The table is followed by Figure 14 which displays a bar chart showing the rates of overt SPs in each category of the factor for each group.

Table 71

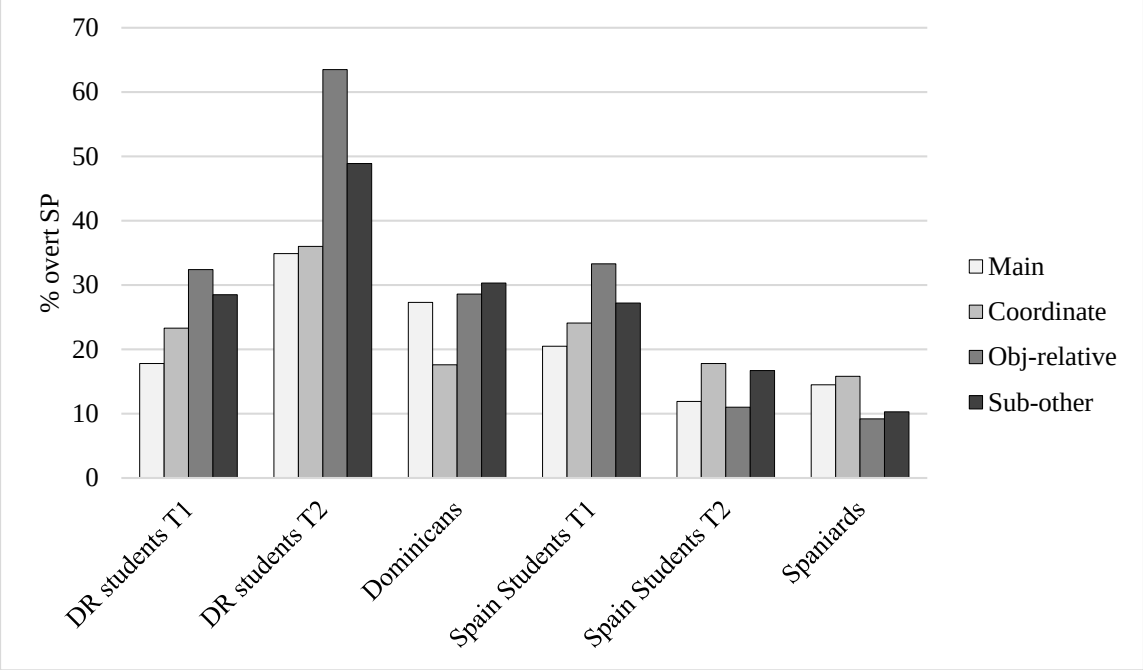
Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Clause Type

	Coordinate		Main		Relative		Sub-other		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R.S. T1	356	*23.3*	612	*17.8*	34	*32.4*	172	*28.5*	< .05
D.R.S. T2	481	*36.0*	702	*34.9*	85	*63.5*	150	*48.9*	< .001
Doms.	353	*17.6*	929	*27.3*	91	*28.6*	267	*30.3*	< .001
S.S. T1	402	*24.1*	770	*20.5*	24	*33.3*	191	*27.2*	= .713
S.S. T2	493	*17.8*	759	*11.9*	73	*11.0*	300	*16.7*	= .096
Spans.	285	*15.8*	865	*14.5*	65	*9.2*	232	*10.3*	= .128

This factor is highly significant for the Dominicans but not for the Spaniards. For the Dominicans, we find the lowest rates of overt SPs among coordinate clauses. For the students, we see that similar to the previously described factors, the D.R. student increase their rates of overt SPs in all categories but the distribution stays the same with the highest rates of overt SPs in object-relative clauses and the lowest in main clauses. In comparison to the Dominicans, the D.R. students show the lowest rates of overt SPs in main and coordinate clauses. However, unlike the Dominicans, there is very little different difference in rates of overt SPs between main and coordinate clauses. For the Spain students, although it is not significant, the rates of overt SPs for each category at Time 1 is nearly identical to the D.R. students. At Time 2, the rates decrease in each category and although the distribution is unique, they show similar rates to the Spaniards with the coordinate and object-relative clauses. The rates of overt SPs within each category of this variable are displayed visually in the following Figure 14.

Figure 14

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Clause Type



4.2.1.2.3 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by Continuity of Reference

In this section, the distribution of the subject pronouns within categories of the switch reference factor are displayed in Table 72.

Table 72

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Continuity of Reference

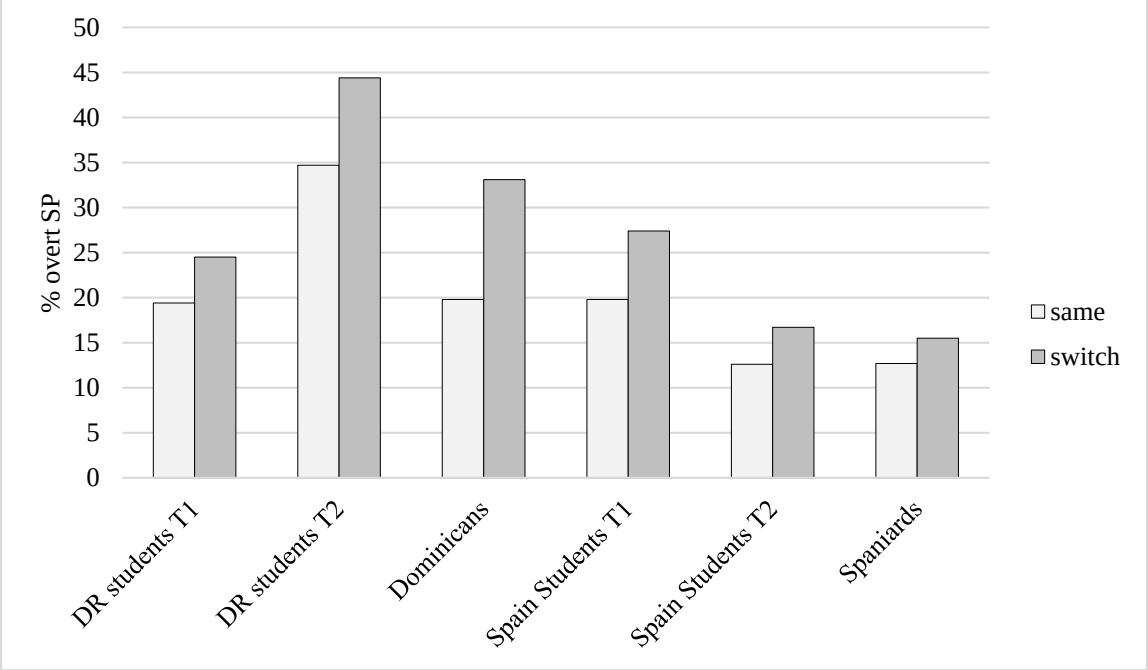
	Same		Switch		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	696	*19.4*	478	*24.5*	= .133
D.R. students - T2	796	*34.7*	346	*44.4*	< .001
Dominicans	903	*19.8*	737	*33.1*	< .001
Spain students - T1	862	*19.8*	525	*27.4*	< .05
Spain students - T2	865	*12.6*	760	*16.7*	< .05
Spaniards	868	*12.7*	579	*15.5*	< .05

For this factor, we again see that although the rates differ, the direction of the effect for both native-speaker groups is the same: higher rates of overt SPs in contexts of switch reference than in contexts of same reference. However, the effect is stronger for the

Dominicans than for the Spaniards. Concerning the students, we found that for the D.R. students, although the rates of overt SPs are in the expected direction, it was not significant at Time 1. At Time 2, however, the rates are higher than any other group for both categories but the effect of Continuity of Reference is highly significant and in the same direction as the native speakers. For the Spain students, this factor is significant at Time 1 and Time 2 in the expected direction. Moreover, at Time 2 the rates of use of overt SPs and the p-value of this factor is almost identical to the Spaniards. These rates of overt SPs are presented in the following bar chart.

Figure 15

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Continuity of Reference



4.2.1.2.4 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by Perseveration

In this section, the results of the cross-tabulations for the Perseveration factor are presented. As a reminder, each category of this factor includes the form associated with the form produced for the previous subject in the discourse.

Table 73

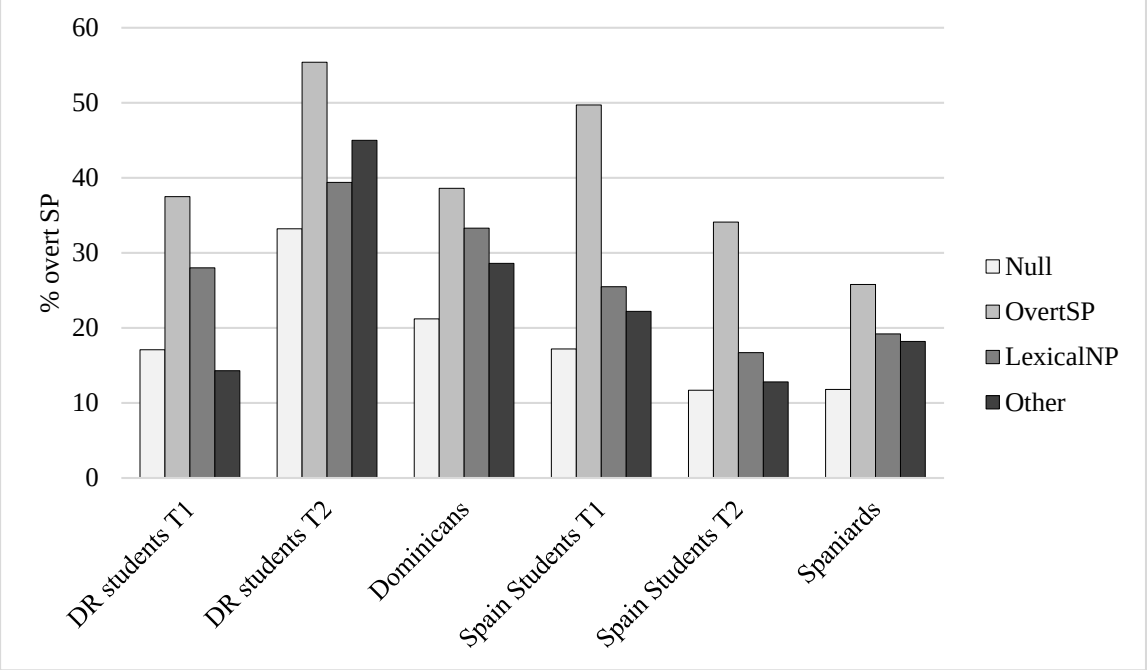
Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Perseveration

	Null		Overt SP		Lexical NP		Other		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R.S. T1	828	*17.1*	168	*37.5*	157	*28*	21	*14.3*	= .832
D.R.S. T2	972	*33.2*	363	*55.4*	180	*39.4*	60	*45.0*	< .001
Doms.	1139	*21.2*	306	*38.6*	153	*33.3*	42	*28.6*	< .05
S.S. T1	1010	*17.2*	189	*49.7*	161	*25.5*	27	*22.2*	< .001
S.S. T2	1261	*11.7*	167	*34.1*	150	*16.7*	47	*12.8*	< .001
Spans.	1157	*11.8*	132	*25.8*	125	*19.2*	33	*18.2*	< .01

This factor was found to be significant for both native speaker groups and also in the same direction: the highest rates of overt SPs occur in contexts that were preceded by overt SPs. In addition, the lowest rates of overt SPs (i.e. highest rates of null subjects) are in contexts that were preceded by null subjects. Both the students groups at both times show the same trend of producing the most overt SPs in contexts that are preceded by overt SPs and the most null subjects in contexts that are preceded by null subjects. For the students, we see that at Time 1, this factor was not significant for the D.R. students. At Time 2, however, this factor is significant and in a similar direction to the native speakers. Again, the D.R. students' rates are higher in every category of this factor than any other group. For the Spain students, although the rates are slightly different, the direction of the effect at Time 1 and Time 2 is identical to the native speaker groups. At Time 2, however, the rates in each category decrease and more closely approach the Spaniards. The aforementioned trends are presented visually in the following Figure 16.

Figure 16

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by Perseveration



4.2.1.2.5 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by TMA

We now turn to the results of the rates of overt SPs among categories of the TMA factor. This factor included four categories: Present, preterite, imperfect and other. The following Table 74 presents the rates of overt SPs within each category of this factor.

Table 74

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by TMA

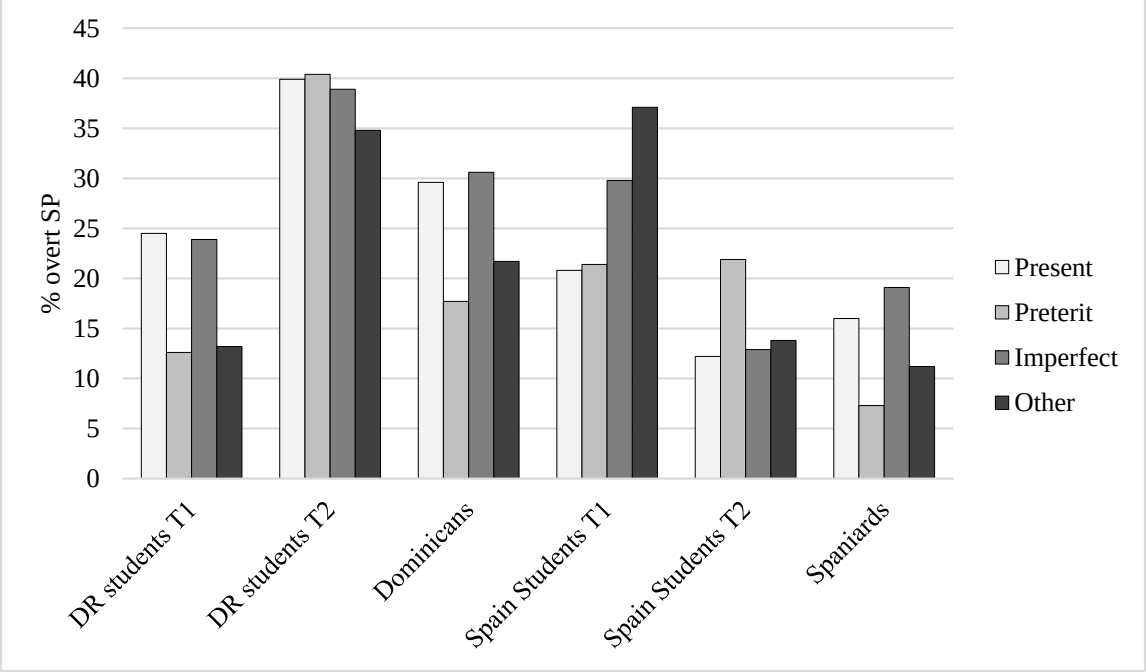
	Present		Preterite		Imperfect		Other		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R.S. T1	808	*24.5*	223	*12.6*	67	*23.9*	76	*13.2*	< .05
D.R.S. T2	1076	*39.9*	277	*40.4*	90	*38.9*	132	*34.8*	< .05
Doms.	931	*29.6*	69	*17.7*	30	*30.6*	48	*21.7*	< .001
S.S. T1	906	*20.8*	280	*21.4*	104	*29.8*	97	*37.1*	< .05
S.S. T2	919	*12.2*	343	*21.9*	116	*12.9*	247	*13.8*	< .05
Spans.	805	*16.0*	259	*7.3*	115	*19.1*	268	*11.2*	< .01

Similar to the other factors, the native speakers show similar distributions of rates among the categories of this variable. The highest rates of overt SPs occur accompany

imperfect forms, followed by present, the other category and finally the preterite which are accompanied by the lowest rates of overt SPs. Regarding the students, we see that at Time 1, the D.R. students show a similar distribution to the native speakers but at Time 2, although it is still significant, they increase their rates of overt SPs in all categories and do not demonstrate many difference in rates between categories. Like the native speaker groups, they show lower rates of overt SPs within the other category, but show the highest rates of overt SPs with the preterite forms. The Spain students on the other hand, have unique distribution of rates among the categories at both Time 1 and Time 2 that don't appear to reflect any other group. Moreover, these students decrease their rates of overt SPs in all categories except for with preterite verbs. These trends are displayed visually in the following bar chart.

Figure 17

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by TMA



4.2.1.2.6 Rates of overt SPs in the interview by TMA Continuity

Now the rates of overt SPs within the two categories of the TMA Continuity factor is presented in the following Table 75 and Figure 18.

Table 75

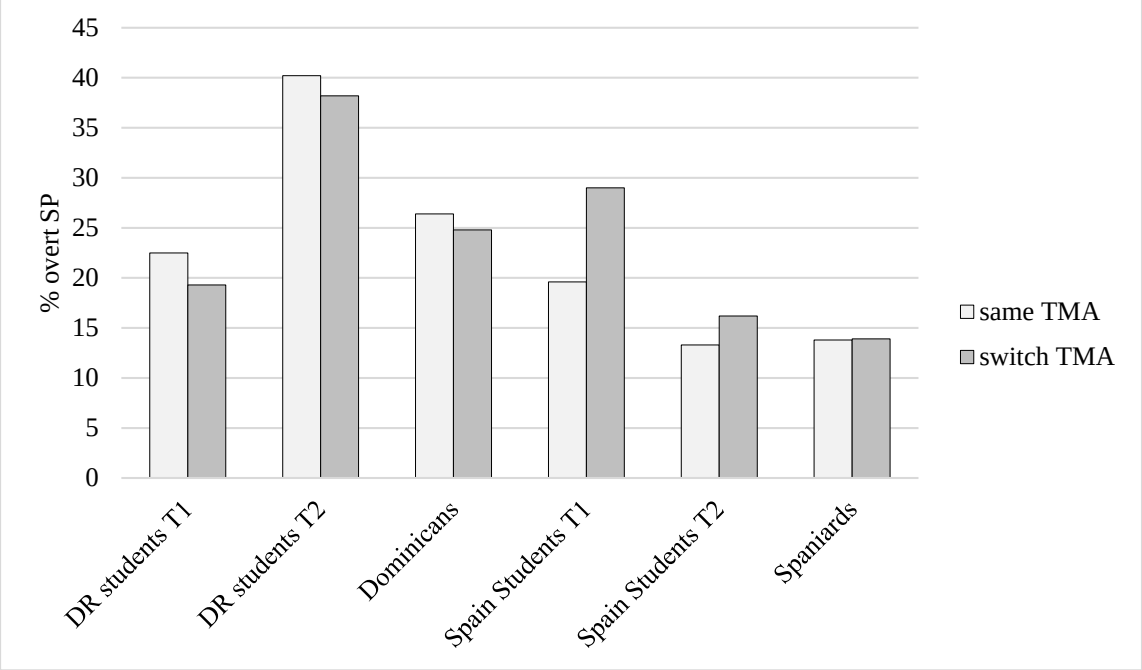
Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by TMA Continuity

	Same TMA		Switch TMA		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R. stud. - T1	800	*22.5*	373	*19.3*	< .01
D.R. stud. - T2	1056	*40.2*	519	*38.2*	= .533
Dominicans	1020	*26.4*	620	*24.8*	= .787
Spain stud. - T1	932	*19.6*	455	*29.0*	= .083
Spain stud. - T2	946	*13.3*	679	*16.2*	< .01
Spaniards	872	*13.8*	575	*13.9*	= .246

As shown in Table 75 and Figure 18 following this paragraph, both of the native speakers show negligible differences in rates of overt SP production between categories of this variable and these differences were not significant for either group. The students, on the other hand, do significantly vary between forms for at least one data collection time. For the D.R. students, this factor is significant at Time 1 where they had a significantly higher rate of overt SPs in contexts of same TMA than switch TMA. At Time 2, however, this significant difference between categories disappears for the D.R. students. The Spain students, on the other hand, show higher rates of overt SPs in contexts of switch TMA than in contexts of same TMA at both Time 1 and Time 2. This is in the opposite direction as the D.R. students. Nevertheless, this factor was only significant at Time 2 for the Spain students.

Figure 18

Rates of overt SPs produced in the interview by TMA Continuity



4.2.1.3 Binary logistic regression results for the subject pronouns in the WCT

We now turn to the results for the binary logistic regression for the WCT data which are presented in the same manner as the interview data. As a reminder, the factors manipulated in the WCT were Person (1sg vs. 3sg), Continuity of Reference (same vs. switch) and TMA (preterite vs. imperfect). As with the interview results, Table 73 displays the significant factors that were found for each group (at Time 1 and Time 2 for the students). The rows represent each group whereas the columns show the individual factors. As before, and 'X' indicates that the factor was significant in the regression model and the asterisks indicate the relative p-value of the factor.

Table 76

Results for the binary logistic regressions for the WCT data for each group

	Person	ContRef	TMA
D.R. students – T1			
D.R. students – T2			
Dominicans	X***	X***	
Spain students –T1		X*	
Spain students –T2			X**
Spaniards		X***	X*

Note. * = p <.05, ** = p <.01, *** = p <.001

In the WCT, the variation between null and overt SPs is significantly constrained Continuity of Reference for both the Dominicans and the Spaniards. However, Person is only significant for the Dominicans and TMA is only significant for the Spaniards. This contrasts with the interview data for which all three factors are significant for both native speaker groups. Concerning the students, we see that no factor reaches significance at any time for the D.R. students. For the Spain students, however, Continuity of Reference is significant at Time 1 and TMA is significant at Time 2.

4.2.1.3.1 Rates of overt SPs in the WCT by Person

This section includes the cross-tabulations showing the rates of forms selected with the items in the WCT that 1sg referents and the rates associated with the items that had 3sg referents. Following the cross-tabulation tables, a bar graph shows the rates of overt SPs selected for the 1sg and 3sg categories for each group.

Table 77

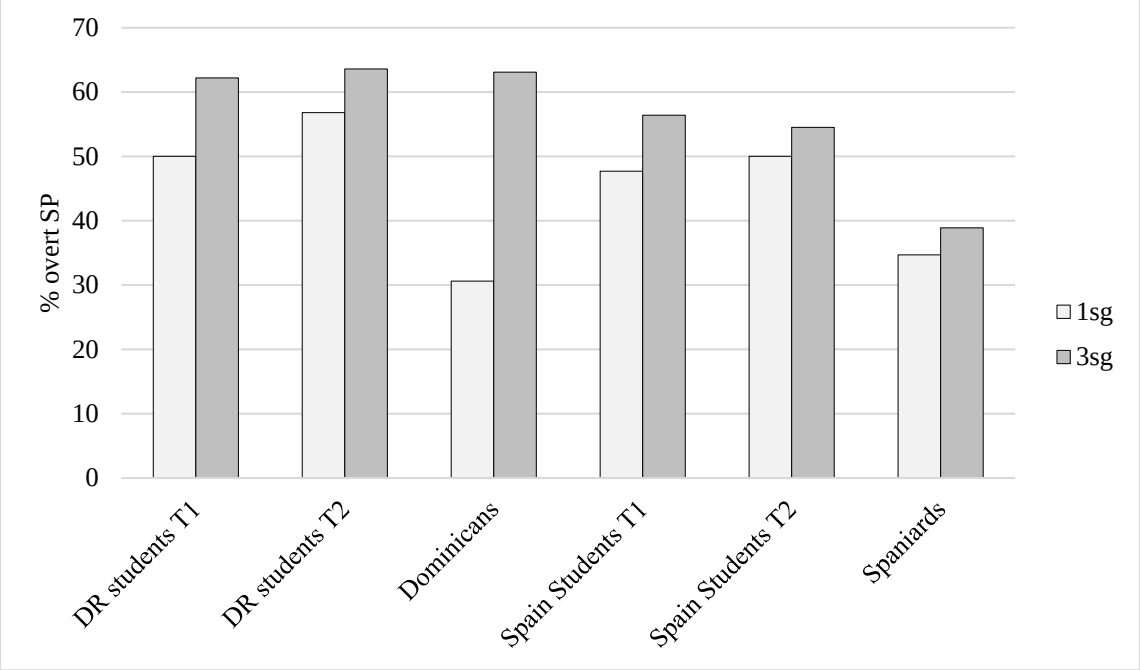
Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by Person

	1sg		3sg		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	44	*50.0*	37	*62.2*	= .099
D.R. students - T2	44	*56.8*	44	*63.6*	= .460
Dominicans	72	*30.6*	65	*63.1*	< .001
Spain students - T1	44	*47.7*	39	*56.4*	= .354
Spain students - T2	44	*50.0*	44	*54.5*	= .290
Spaniards	75	*34.7*	72	*38.9*	= .771

In a similar manner to the interview, all groups selected higher rates of overt SPs with 3sg than 1sg. However, these differences were not significant for any group except for the Dominicans who showed a difference of more than 30 percentage points in rates of selection between 1sg and 3sg referents. For the student groups, we see very little difference between distributions at Time 1 and Time 2. In addition, we see that the D.R. students show rates of overt SP selection 3sg that are comparable to the Dominican rate, but their rate of selection of overt SPs with 1sg is much higher. The rates of overt SPs are presented as well in the following bar chart.

Figure 19

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by Person



4.2.1.3.2 Rates of overt SPs by Continuity of Reference in the WCT

In this section, the rates of overt SPs within the categories of Continuity of Reference are presented in the following Table 78 and Figure 20.

Table 78

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by Continuity of Reference

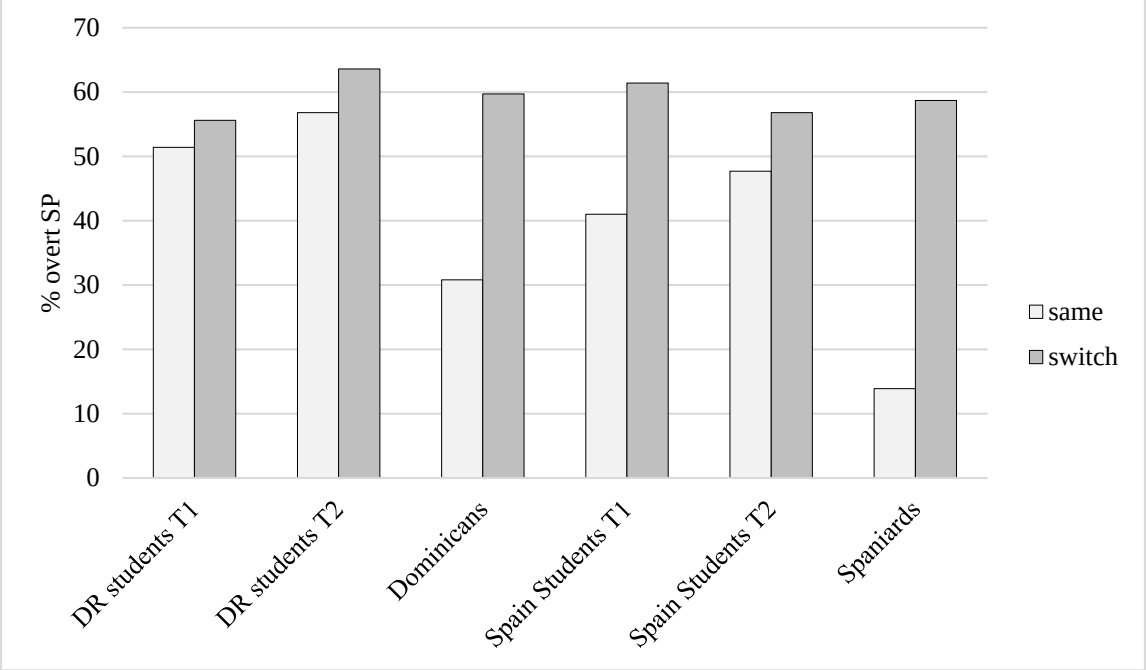
	Same		Switch		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	37	*51.4*	44	*55.6*	= .516
D.R. students - T2	44	*56.8*	44	*63.6*	= .164
Dominicans	65	*30.8*	72	*59.7*	< .001
Spain students - T1	39	*41.0*	44	*61.4*	< .05
Spain students - T2	44	*47.7*	44	*56.8*	= .297
Spaniards	72	*13.9*	75	*58.7*	< .001

Much like the results for the interview, the native speakers selected higher rates of overt SPs in contexts of switch reference than in contexts of same reference. However, the differences in rates between categories of this factor are greater in the WCT than in the

interview. Whereas the difference between categories in the interview was around 13 percentage for the Dominicans and about 3 percentage for the Spaniards, the difference between switch and same reference in the WCT approaches 29 percentage for the Dominicans and 45 percentage points for the Spaniards. In addition, although the overall rates of selection of overt SPs differ between native speaker groups overall and within same reference contexts, in contexts of switch reference, the rates are comparable between native speaker groups. Moreover, for the Spaniards, the rates of overt SPs within same reference contexts are similar between tasks at around 13%. For the students, we see that at neither Time 1 nor Time 2 do the D.R. students show much difference between switch and same reference contexts. Between Time 1 and Time 2, the rates in both categories increase comparably. For the Spain students, we see that at Time 1, the difference is significant but at Time 2, the students increase their rates of selection of overt SPs in same reference contexts and decrease their rates of selection in switch reference contexts and the factor is no longer significant. Finally, whereas the rates of selection of overt SPs in switch reference contexts are comparable across groups, the rates of overt SPs selected in same reference contexts tend to be much higher for the students than the native speaker groups.

Figure 20

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by Continuity of Reference



4.2.1.3.3 Rates of overt SPs within categories of TMA in the WCT

In this section the results for the rates of selection of overt SPs within the two categories of the TMA variable (preterite vs. imperfect) are presented in Table 79 and Figure 21.

Table 79

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by TMA

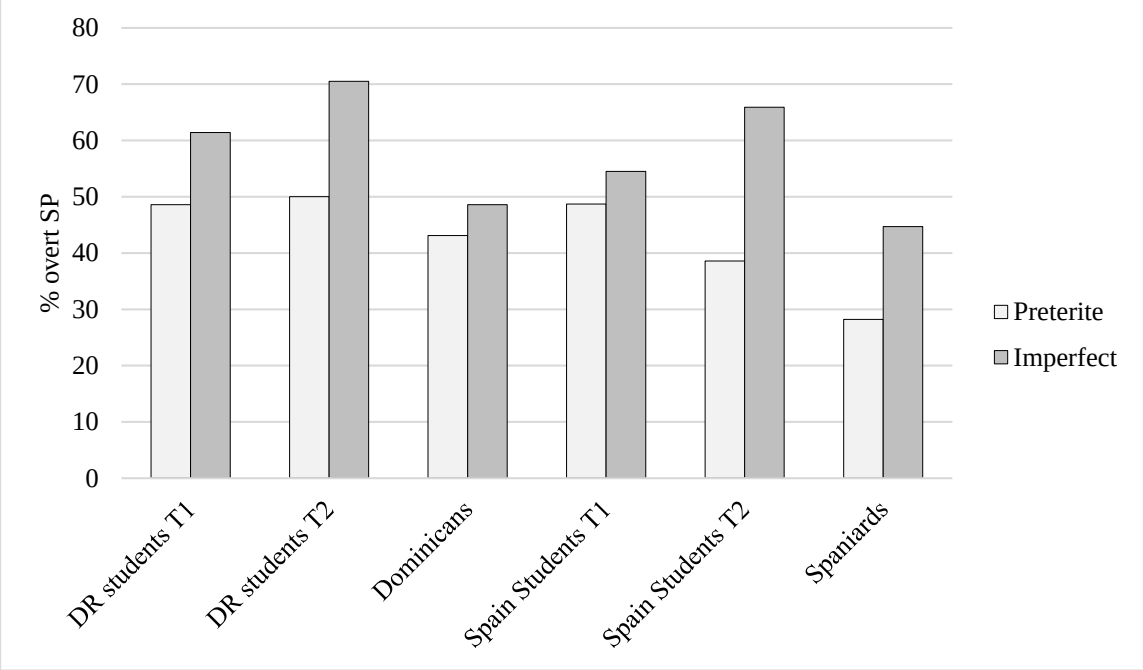
	Preterite		Imperfect		
	N	*% pro*	N	*% pro*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	37	*48.6*	44	*61.4*	= .203
D.R. students - T2	44	*50.0*	44	*70.5*	= .058
Dominicans	65	*43.1*	72	*48.6*	= .436
Spain students - T1	39	*48.7*	44	*54.5*	= .682
Spain students - T2	44	*38.6*	44	*65.9*	< .01
Spaniards	71	*28.2*	34	*44.7*	< .05

Similar to the other two manipulated factors in the WCT, the distribution of forms is in the same direction for all groups: Higher rates of overt SPs are selected with imperfect verb

forms than preterite verb forms. This is also true in the interview data for the native speakers who produce the lowest rates of overt SPs with the preterite forms and the highest rates with the imperfect forms. This factor is significant for the Spaniards but not for the Dominicans. This factor is also never significant for the D.R. students in the WCT but is in the interview and is only significant for the Spain students at Time 2. Moreover, whereas the rates of selection of overt SPs more closely approach the Spaniards rates at Time 2, the rates within the imperfect category increase to a rate that is even further from the Spaniards.

Figure 21

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT by TMA



4.2.1.4 Summary of regression results for subject forms

In this section, a summary of the results for the logistic regressions is presented for all groups on each task. For the native speakers, there were many similarities and differences regarding constraining factors on subject pronoun variation. In the interview, both native variation between null subjects and overt SPs was constrained by

Person/Number, Continuity of Reference, Perseveration, and TMA. Moreover, each time a factor was significant for both groups, the direction of the effect was the same. However, it was found that Clause Type was only significant for the Dominicans in the interview. Regarding the students at Time 1, it was found that subject pronoun variation was constrained by Person/Number and TMA for both groups. However, whereas Clause Type and TMA Continuity constrained variation for the D.R. students, Continuity of Reference and Perseveration constrained variation for the Spain students. By Time 2, both groups increase their number of significant factors and have more significant factors in common with each other: Person/Number, Continuity of Reference, Perseveration and TMA are significant factors constraining variation for both groups at Time 2. However, Clause Type is only significant for the D.R. students whereas TMA Continuity is only significant for the Spain students. Finally, whereas the D.R. student vary between forms by the same five factors as the Dominicans, four of the significant factors for the Spain students are also significant for the Spaniards. In addition, each factor that was significant for the students also had similar directions of effect as the native speakers.

In the WCT, the native speakers only overlap with one factor: Continuity of Reference. The Person factor is only significant for the Dominicans whereas the TMA factor is only significant for the Spaniards. This contrasts with the interview in which similar factors were significant for both groups. For the students, we find that none of the factors are ever significant for the D.R. students whereas Continuity of Reference is significant for the Spain students at Time 1 and only TMA is significant for the Spain students at Time 2 (both in the same direction as the native speakers). This also contrasts with the interview in which similar factors were significant for both groups.

4.2.2.1 Binary logistic regression results for past tense produced in the interview

We now turn to the results of the regression analyses for the production of the present perfect forms for each group. The dependent variable originally consisted of three categories: the present perfect, the preterite, and other forms. However, in order to facilitate the analysis, the dependent variable used in the regression consisted of two categories: The present perfect vs. other forms. Additionally, for the student groups, the Time 1 regressions did not include the individual participant as a random variable since the GEE procedure would not function given that the data for the students at these times did not have tokens in all categories of each independent variable. Hence, the regression results for the student groups at Time 1 is not as robust at the results at Time 2. Nevertheless, it is a method that have been used in many previous studies in linguistics. As a reminder, there were six factors entered into the model: Temporal Reference (TempRef), Temporal Adverbials (TempAdv), Aktionsart, Polarity, Object Plurality (ObjNum) and Clause Type.

Table 80

Results for the binary logistic regression of the present perfect variation for the interview data

	TempRef	TempAdv	Aktionsart	Polarity	ObjNum	Clause
D.R.S. T1†	X***					
D.R.S. T2	X***	X***				
Doms.	X***					X**
S.S. T1†	X***					
S.S. T2	X***					
Spans.	X***		X*			X**

Note. * = p <.05, ** = p <.01, *** = p <.001

†Participant was not included as a random variable

The first clear trend that can be observed based on the results of the logistic regression is that all groups vary between the present perfect and other forms based on the Temporal Reference factor and in each case it is highly significant. Both native speaker

groups also vary between forms based on Clause Type. However, the Spaniards also vary between forms based on Aktionsart. Regarding the factors that significantly constrain variation for the students, at Time 1, both groups vary between forms based solely on Temporal Reference. This is also the case at Time 2 for the Spain students but for the D.R. students at Time 2, variation is constrained by both Temporal Reference and Temporal Adverbials. Indeed, the Temporal Adverbials factor is only ever significant for this group.

4.2.2.1.1 Rates of the present perfect in the interview by the linguistic factors

We now turn to the presentation of the rates of the present perfect within categories of the linguistic factors that were found to be significant for at least one group. Hence, no results for the Polarity and Object Plurality are presented. In the same manner as was done with the results for the subject forms, each section includes a table and a bar chart showing the rate that the present perfect was produced in each category.

4.2.2.1.1.1 Rates of the present perfect by Temporal Reference for the interview

In the following Table 81 and bar chart (Figure 22), the rates of the present perfect (*% PP*) are presented within the four categories of the Temporal Reference factor which include events that occurred earlier the same day (Today), in the past before today (Before Today), actions for which temporal reference was irrelevant (Irrelevant) and those that could not be determined based on the discourse and/or shared knowledge between interlocutors (Indeterminate).

Table 81

Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Temporal Reference

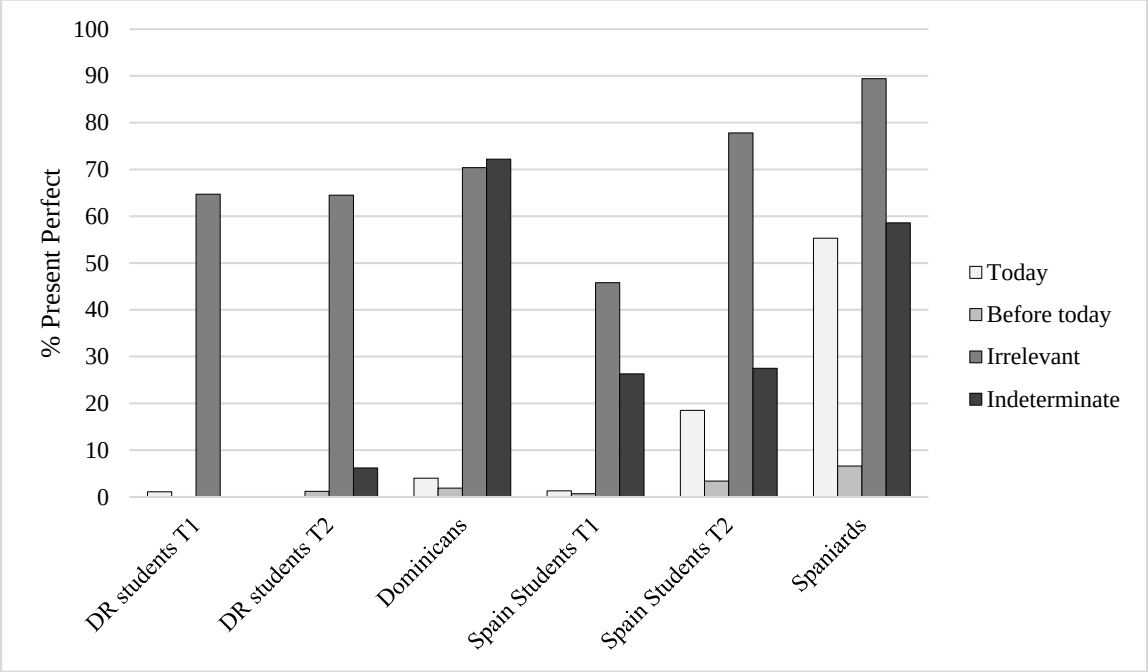
	Today		Before today		Irrelevant		Indeterminate		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R.S. T1	94	*1.1*	231	*0.0*	17	*64.7*	4	*0.0*	< .001
D.R.S. T2	91	*0.0*	250	*1.2*	31	*64.5*	16	*6.2*	< .001
Doms.	99	*4.0*	376	*1.9*	81	*70.4*	36	*72.2*	< .001
S.S. T1	76	*1.3*	278	*0.7*	24	*45.8*	19	*26.3*	< .001
S.S. T2	81	*18.5*	408	*3.4*	54	*77.8*	40	*27.5*	< .001
Spans.	103	*55.3*	289	*6.6*	47	*89.4*	29	*58.6*	< .001

Both native speaker groups employed the present perfect at the highest rate in the irrelevant category and the least in the before today category. However, there were some differences between groups regarding specific rates. For instance, the Dominicans employ the present perfect at a rate of higher than 70% in indeterminate and irrelevant contexts but less than 4% for today and before today contexts. Spaniards also have high rates of the present perfect for indeterminate and irrelevant contexts but have a higher rate of almost 90% present perfect in irrelevant contexts and a lower rate of less than 60% in indeterminate contexts. They also show low rates of the present perfect (less than 7%) for completed actions in the before today context. In contrast to the Dominicans, the Spaniards produced the present perfect at a rate of about 55% in today contexts. For the students, we find varying trends as well. Like the native speakers, both groups of students produced the highest rates of the present perfect in irrelevant contexts. However, whereas the distribution does not change much between Time 1 and Time 2 for the D.R. students, for the Spain students, we see an increase in the use if the present perfect in all categories with the greatest increase of rates being found within the today and irrelevant contexts. Moreover, the rates in each category more closely reflect the Spaniard rates at Time 2 than Time 1 for the Spain students. Indeed, although the rates of use of the present perfect at Time 2 are all

lower for the Spain students than the Spaniards, the overall direction of the effect is the same for both groups: the highest rates of the present perfect are found in irrelevant contexts, followed by indeterminate contexts, then today contexts, and finally before today contexts. These patterns of selection are displayed in the following Figure 22.

Figure 22

Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Temporal Reference



4.2.2.1.1.2 Rates of the present perfect by Temporal Adverbials for the interview

In this section, the rates of the present perfect within the categories of the Temporal Adverbial factor are presented. This factor included three categories: Frequency/proximity adverbials (Freq/Prox), other adverbials (Other) and no adverbials associated with the verb (None).

Table 82

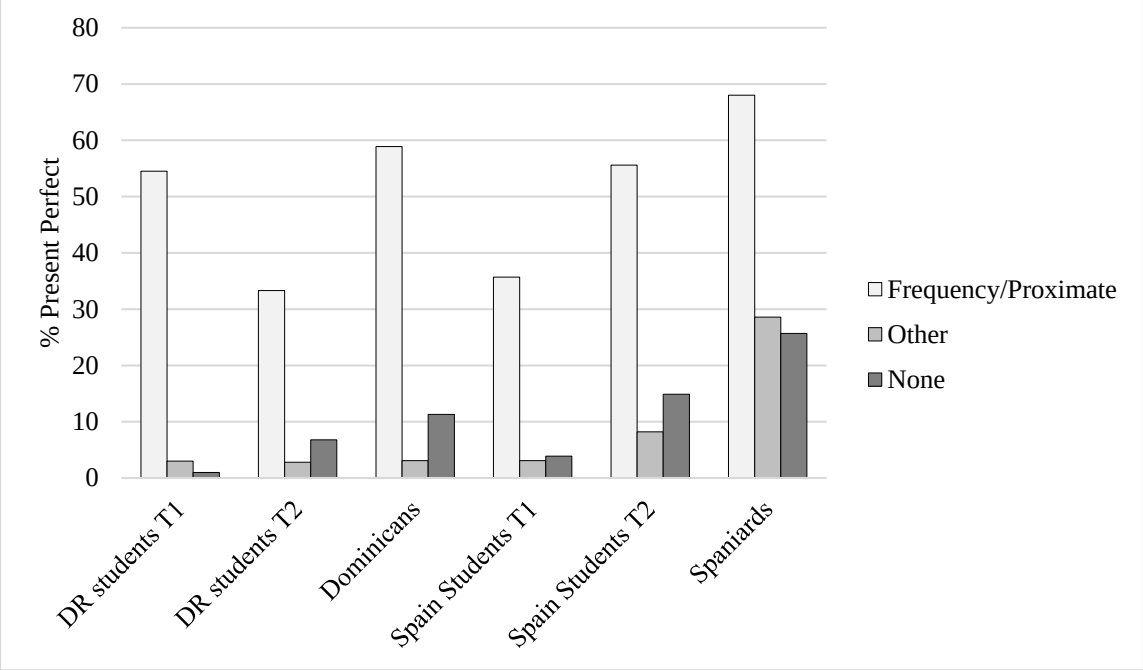
Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Temporal Adverbials

	Freq/Prox		Other		None		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	11	*54.5*	135	*3.0*	200	*1.0*	= .057
D.R. students - T2	12	*33.3*	142	*2.8*	234	*6.8*	< .001
Dominicans	56	*58.9*	191	*3.1*	345	*11.3*	= .376
Spain students - T1	14	*35.7*	128	*3.1*	255	*3.9*	= .194
Spain students - T2	18	*55.6*	183	*8.2*	382	*14.9*	= .162
Spaniards	25	*68.0*	140	*28.6*	303	*25.7*	= .124

We see a clear tendency in all groups of producing the highest rates of present perfect with frequency/proximate adverbials. Although this factor was only found to be significant for the D.R. students at Time 2, there were some qualitative differences between groups however. For instance, whereas the Dominicans produce the present perfect at a rate of roughly 60% with frequency/proximate adverbials, the Spaniards produce them at a rate of almost 70%. In addition, the Dominicans produce the present perfect at a rate around 10% or less in the other categories whereas the Spaniards produce the present perfect between 25-30% in the other categories. Regarding the students, we see that the D.R. students decrease their use of the present perfect with frequency/proximate adverbials between Time 1 and Time 2 and slightly increase their use of this form in the none category. Moreover, this decrease in the frequency/proximate category moves further away from the Dominican rates. The Spain students, on the other hand, increase their use if the present perfect in all categories and in particular the frequency/proximate category which increases nearly 20 percentage points. Nevertheless, although their rates more closely approach the Spaniards at Time 2 than at Time 1, they still have not reached the same rates of the Spaniards in any category. These differences in rates can also be seen in the following bar chart.

Figure 23

Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Temporal Adverbials



4.2.2.1.1.3 Rates of the present perfect by Aktionsart for the interview

The following section presents the distribution of forms among categories of the Aktionsart factor which included two categories based on the verb predicates: the first category included actions that took time to reach completion (Durative) and the second category included actions for which there was very little or no duration (Punctual).

Table 83

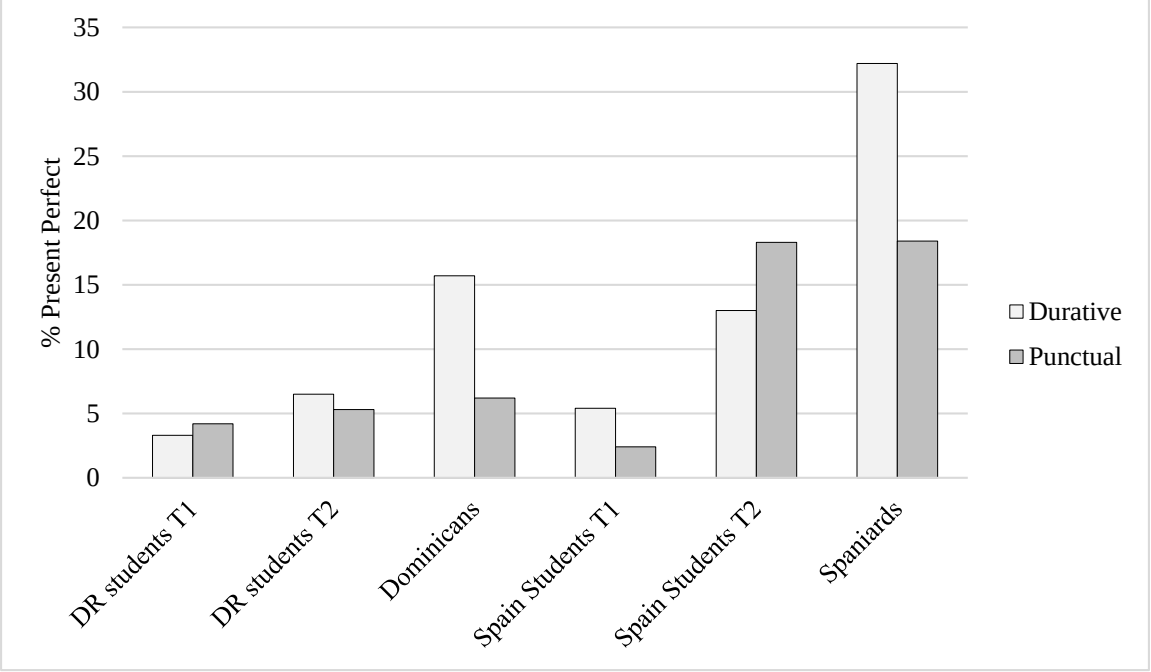
Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Aktionsart

	Durative		Punctual		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R. stud. - T1	275	*3.3*	71	*4.2*	= .742
D.R. stud. - T2	293	*6.5*	95	*5.3*	= .353
Dominicans	432	*15.7*	160	*6.2*	= .967
Spain stud. - T1	313	*5.4*	84	*2.4*	= .468
Spain stud. - T2	468	*13.0*	115	*18.3*	= .467
Spaniards	354	*32.2*	114	*18.4*	< .05

Although it was only found to be significant for the Spaniards, as shown Table 80 and Figure 24, both native-speaker groups show similar trends of producing more present perfect forms with verbs that are durative than verbs that are punctual. The students, on the other hand, show fewer differences between categories of this factor and do not always show trends that reflect the native speaker groups or each other. Firstly, the D.R. students show little differences between categories at both Time 1 and Time 2. The Spain students, on the other hand, show higher rates of the present perfect in durative contexts at Time 1 but lower rates in this same context at Time 2.

Figure 24

Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Aktionsart



4.2.2.1.1.4 Rates of the present perfect by Clause Type for the interview

In this section, the rates of the present perfect in categories of Clause Type are presented. This factor included two categories: Relative clauses and closed interrogative clauses (Relative/YesNo) on the one hand and all other clauses (Other) on the other. As

shown in the results of the regression analyses, this factor was only significant for the native-speaker groups.

Table 84

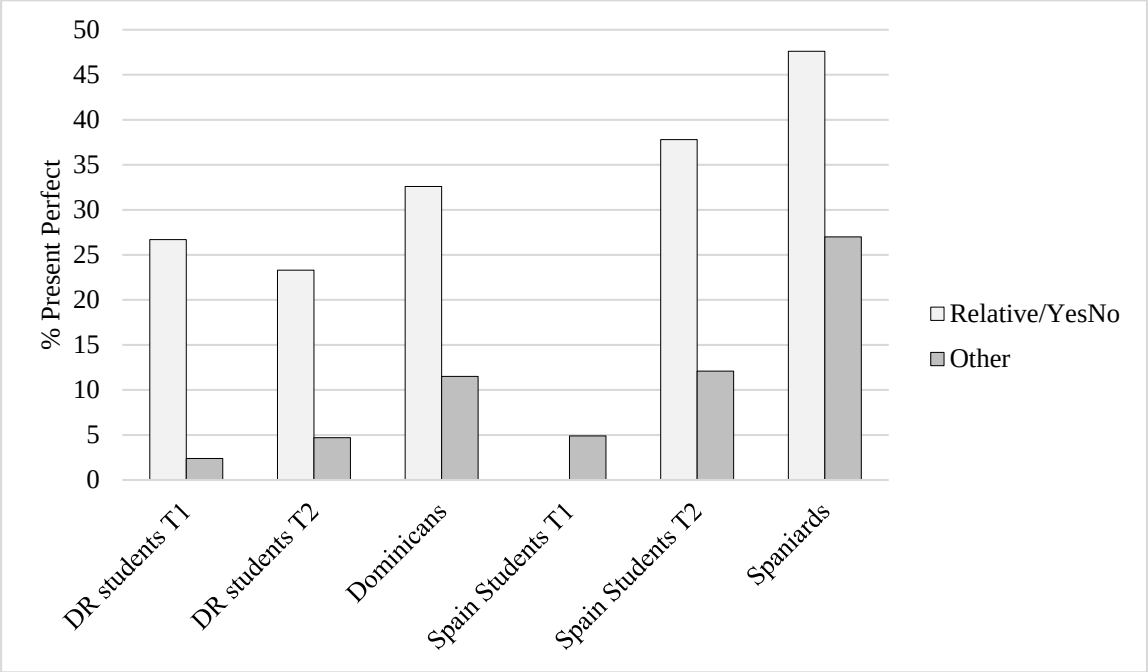
Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Clause Type

	Relative/YesNo		Other		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R. stud. - T1	15	*26.7*	331	*2.4*	= .101
D.R. stud. - T2	30	*23.3*	358	*4.7*	= .792
Dominicans	46	*32.6*	546	*11.5*	< .05
Spain stud. - T1	13	*0.0*	384	*4.9*	= .059
Spain stud. - T2	45	*37.8*	538	*12.1*	= .068
Spaniards	42	*47.6*	426	*27.0*	< .01

As observed in the Table 84, all groups except for the Spain students at Time 1 produce more present perfect within relative and yes/no clauses than with other clauses. Indeed, although the Spaniards show higher rates of the present perfect than the Dominicans in both categories of this factor, the difference in rates between categories is very similar between groups at around 21 percentage points. For the students, this factor was never significant but the differences in rates of the present perfect between categories shows a clear trend in a similar direction as the native speakers with the exception of the Spain students at Time 1 who did not produce any present perfect within relative and yes/no clauses. The following Figure 25 displays these trends.

Figure 25

Rates of present perfect produced in the interview by Clause Type



4.2.2.2 Binary logistic regression results for the selection of the preterite and the present perfect in the WCT

We now turn to the results for the regression analyses for the selection of the present perfect and preterite in the WCT. For this structure, there were two factors that were manipulated for the task: the temporal reference of the time in which the action occurred (TempRef) and the plurality of the object (ObjPlurality).

Table 85

Results for the binary logistic regression of the present perfect/preterite variation in the WCT

	TempRef	ObjPlurality
D.R. students – T1		
D.R. students – T2		
Dominicans		
Spain students –T1		X*
Spain students –T2	X***	X**
Spaniards	X***	

Note. * = p <.05, ** = p <.01, *** = p <.001

As shown in the previous Table 85, neither of the factors were significant for the Dominicans whereas Temporal Reference was significant for the Spaniards. Although this appears to contrast with the results of the interview for the Dominicans, as a reminder, the WCT did not include irrelevant or indeterminate contexts which is where the Dominicans primarily produced the present perfect in the interview. In addition, similar to the interview, Object Plurality was not significant for either native-speaker group. Regarding the students, we see that neither factor is significant for the D.R. students at either time. Again, this is similar to the interview data given the lack of irrelevant contexts in the WCT and the fact that Object Plurality was not significant in the interview for this group. The Spain students, however, show a different trend. First, at Time 1, Object Plurality is significant for this group. At Time 2, Object Plurality continues to be significant and Temporal Reference becomes highly significant.

4.2.2.2.1 Rates of the present perfect in the WCT by Temporal Reference

We begin by presenting the rates of the present perfect within the categories of the Temporal Reference factor. This factor included three categories: Completed actions which occurred previously the same day (Today), actions that occurred the day before (Yesterday), and actions that occurred further in the past (Before Yesterday). Table 83 present the raw N count for the tokens in each category as well as the percent of the tokens that were present perfect. This is followed by a bar chart that presents the rates of the present perfect in visual form.

Table 86

Rates of present perfect selected in the WCT by Temporal Reference

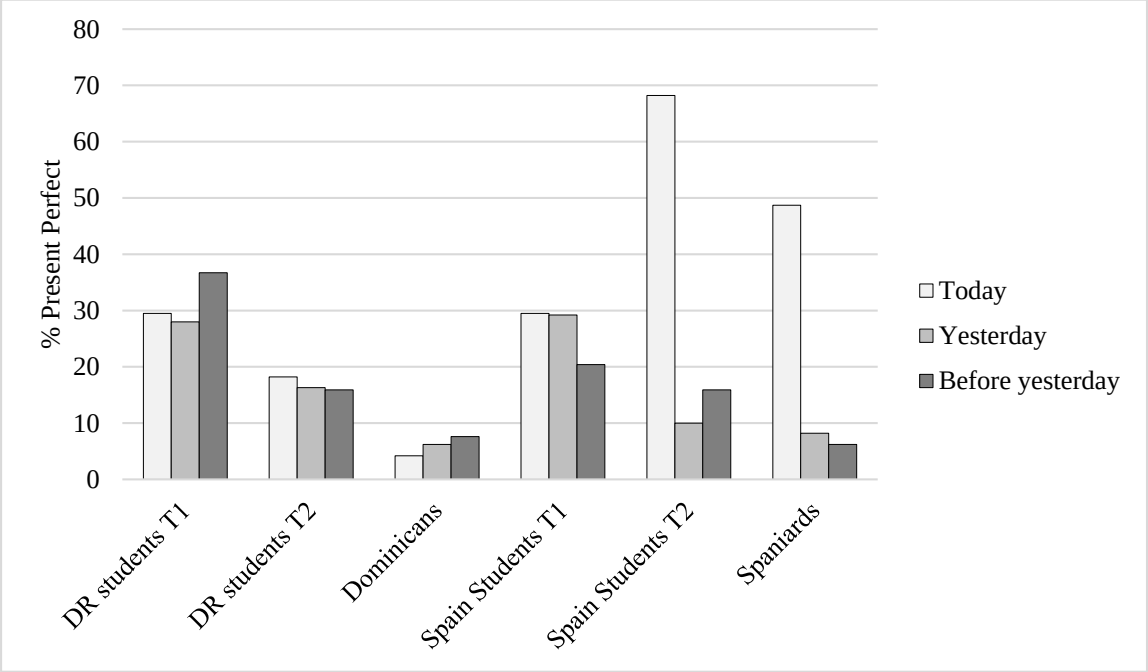
	Today		Yesterday		Before Yesterday		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R. stud. - T1	44	*29.5*	50	*28.0*	49	*36.7*	= .418
D.R. stud. - T2	44	*18.2*	49	*16.3*	44	*15.9*	= .960
Dominicans	72	*4.2*	81	*6.2*	79	*7.6*	= .634
Spain stud. - T1	44	*29.5*	48	*29.2*	49	*20.4*	= .224
Spain stud. - T2	44	*68.2*	50	*10.0*	44	*15.9*	< .001
Spaniards	76	*48.7*	85	*8.2*	80	*6.2*	< .001

For the native speakers, we see that the Dominicans selected the present perfect at a rate less 8% in all categories. This is slightly higher than their rates of production of the present perfect in the interview. Moreover, the qualitative differences between categories for the Dominicans are minimal. The Spaniards, on the other hand, show a clear and significant trend of selecting more present perfect for actions that were completed previously the same day. For the other categories, the Spaniards select the present perfect infrequently and at similar rates to the Dominicans. Regarding the students, at Time 1 we see that both groups do not show many differences between categories and show similarities regarding their rates with the only clear difference being in before yesterday contexts in which the Spain students selected the present perfect at a lower rate than the D.R. students. In addition, at Time 1, the students select the present perfect in each category at rates that are higher than both native speaker groups except for the Today category for the Spaniards. At Time 2, we see clear divergence between groups. The D.R. students decrease their selection of the present perfect in every category between Time 1 and Time 2 which more closely reflects the Dominican trends. The Spain students also decrease their selection of the present perfect in the yesterday and before yesterday contexts but increase their selection of the present perfect for actions that were completed previously the same

day. Indeed, in the today contexts, at Time 1 the Spain students selected the present perfect at a rate 19.2 percentage points lower than the Spaniards whereas at Time 2, they selected the present perfect at a rate 19.5 percentage points higher than the Spaniards in this context as shown in the subsequent Figure 26.

Figure 26

Rates of present perfect selected in the WCT by Temporal Reference



4.2.2.2.2 Rates of the present perfect in the WCT by Object Plurality

In this section, the results for the rates of the selection of the present perfect within each category of the Object Plurality factor are presented. This factor consisted of three categories: verbs that were accompanied by singular objects (Singular), verbs that had plural objects (Plural) and those that did not have any object (None).

Table 87

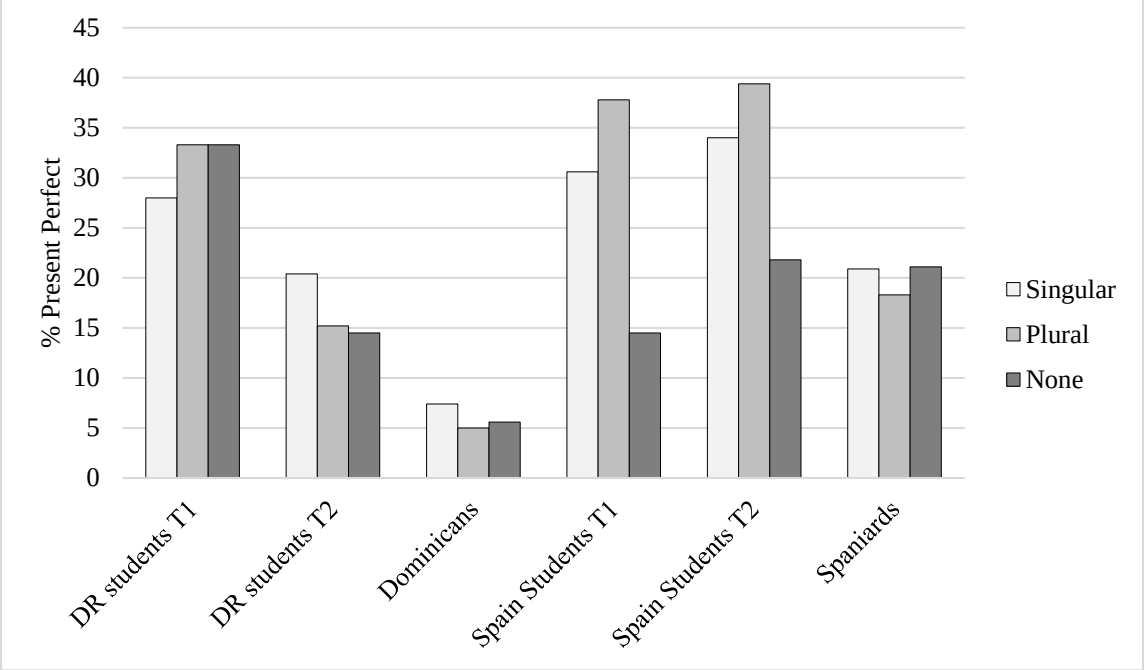
Rates of present perfect selected in the WCT by Object Plurality

	Singular		Plural		None		
	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	N	*% PP*	p-value
D.R. stud. - T1	50	*28.0*	39	*33.3*	54	*33.3*	= .828
D.R. stud. - T2	49	*20.4*	33	*15.2*	55	*14.5*	= .366
Dominicans	81	*7.4*	60	*5.0*	90	*5.6*	= .837
Spain stud. - T1	49	*30.6*	37	*37.8*	55	*14.5*	< .05
Spain stud. - T2	50	*34.0*	33	*39.4*	55	*21.8*	< .01
Spaniards	86	*20.9*	60	*18.3*	95	*21.1*	= .856

For the native speaker, this factor was never significant. However, qualitatively speaking, those verbs with plural objects were associated with some of the lowest rates of use of the present perfect for both groups whereas singular show some of the highest rates. For the D.R. students, we see that between Time 1 and Time 2 we see a drop of the selection of the present perfect. But again, this factor was not significant at either time. For the Spain students, this factor was significant at Time 1 and Time 2 and in the same direction: The highest rates of the present perfect were selected with those verbs that had plural objects, followed by singular objects, then those that did not have any objects. Between Time 1 and Time 2, rates of the present perfect increased in each category with the biggest increase occurring among the verbs with no object.

Figure 27

Rates of present perfect selected in the WCT by Object Plurality



4.2.2.3 Summary of the regression results for the production and selection of the present perfect

By way of summary, it was found that for the native speakers, Temporal Reference and Clause Type significantly constrained variation between the present perfect and other past tense forms in the interview. However, although Clause Type affected variation in the same direction for both groups, that is, participants produced higher rates of the present perfect within closed interrogative and relative clauses, the Temporal Reference showed a difference between groups. Whereas both groups produced high rates of the present perfect in irrelevant and indeterminate contexts, only the Spaniards produced high rates of the present perfect in today contexts. In addition to these factors, Aktionsart was also significant for the Spaniards in which the produced higher rates of the present perfect with durative verbs. Variation within the student groups, on the other hand, was constrained by

Temporal Reference at Time 1 and Time 2 but never Clause Type or Aktionsart. Moreover, the direction of the significant effect for Temporal Reference was not entirely like the native speakers. However, at Time 2, although the D.R. students rarely produced the present perfect in today contexts, the Spain students began to produce them in today contexts. Finally, at Time 2, the Temporal Adverbials factor was significant for the D.R. students but not for any other group.

In the WCT, no factor was ever significant for the Dominicans nor the D.R. students at Time 1 and Time 2. For the Spaniards, however, Temporal Reference was significant with these speakers selecting the highest rates of the present perfect in today contexts. For the Spain students, Object Plurality was significant at Time 1 and Temporal Reference was significant at Time 2 in a similar direction as found for the Spaniards.

4.2.3 Results for the production of object pronouns in the interview

In the following sections, the results for the production of object pronouns in the interview and the selection of object pronouns in the WCT are presented. For this structure, regression analyses were not run for the interview data due to the low token count of object pronouns found in the oral interviews that led to several empty cells among the categories of the independent variables. However, Fisher Exact Probability Tests were run in order to determine significance of each factor for each group. In addition, although all native speakers in both groups produced tokens of object pronouns, the results for the student groups are based on a limited number of participants because not all students produced object pronouns (both direct and indirect) in the interview. The following table presents the number (N) of participants that produced at least one object pronoun (direct or indirect) in accusative contexts in the interview.

Table 88

Number of participants in each group that produced at least one object pronoun in accusative contexts in the interview

	N participants
D.R. students – T1	1
D.R. students – T2	5
Dominicans	11
Spain students –T1	5
Spain students –T2	7
Spaniards	11

As shown in the previous Table 88, all native speakers from each group produced at least one object pronoun in the included contexts. Regarding the students, only one D.R. students produced at least one object pronoun at Time 1 and only five of the Spain students did so at Time 1. At Time 2, there were still only five D.R. students and seven Spain students that produced at least one object pronoun. Hence, of all the students, 10 of the total 22 did not produce an object pronoun in the interview at Time 2.

4.2.3.1 Results for the Fishers Exact Tests for the production of object pronouns in the interview

In this first Table 89, the factors that were found to be significant for each group based on the Fisher Exact Probability Tests are presented. For this structure, five factors were included in the analyses of the interview data: the grammatical gender of the referent (Gender), the animacy of the object referent (Animacy), the number of the object referent (Number), the Countability of the referent (Countability) and the animacy of the subject referent (SubjAn). As before, an 'X' indicates that the factor was significant for the group and the asterisks indicate the relative p-value.

Table 89

Results for the Fishers Exact Tests of the object pronoun variation for the interview data

	Gender	Animacy	Number	Countabil.	SubjAn
D.R. students – T1					
D.R. students – T2					
Dominicans		X*			
Spain students –T1		X*			
Spain students –T2					
Spaniards	X**	X*	X*		

Note. * = p <.05, ** = p <.01, *** = p <.001

For the native speakers, we see that Animacy is significant for both groups. However, Animacy is the only significant factor for the Dominicans whereas for the Spaniards, referent Gender and Number are also significant. For the D.R. students, nothing was found to be significant at Time 1 or at Time 2. For the Spain students, however, we see that at Time 1, Animacy is a significant factor but at Time 2, no factor was found to be significant. Hence, the Spain students did not demonstrate significant trends that were more close to the native speaker trends at Time 2 than Time 1. The following sections present the rates of *le(s)* found within the categories of the factors that were significant for at least one group. Therefore, the specific results for rates within the categories of Countability and Subject Animacy are not presented.

4.2.3.1.1 Rates of indirect object pronoun production by Animacy in the interview

This section begins with a presentation of the rates of indirect object pronouns *le(s)* produced by each group within the categories of the Animacy factor. As before, Table 90 includes the total token count (N) of all object pronouns and the percent of those tokens that were indirect object pronouns (*% le(s)*).

Table 90

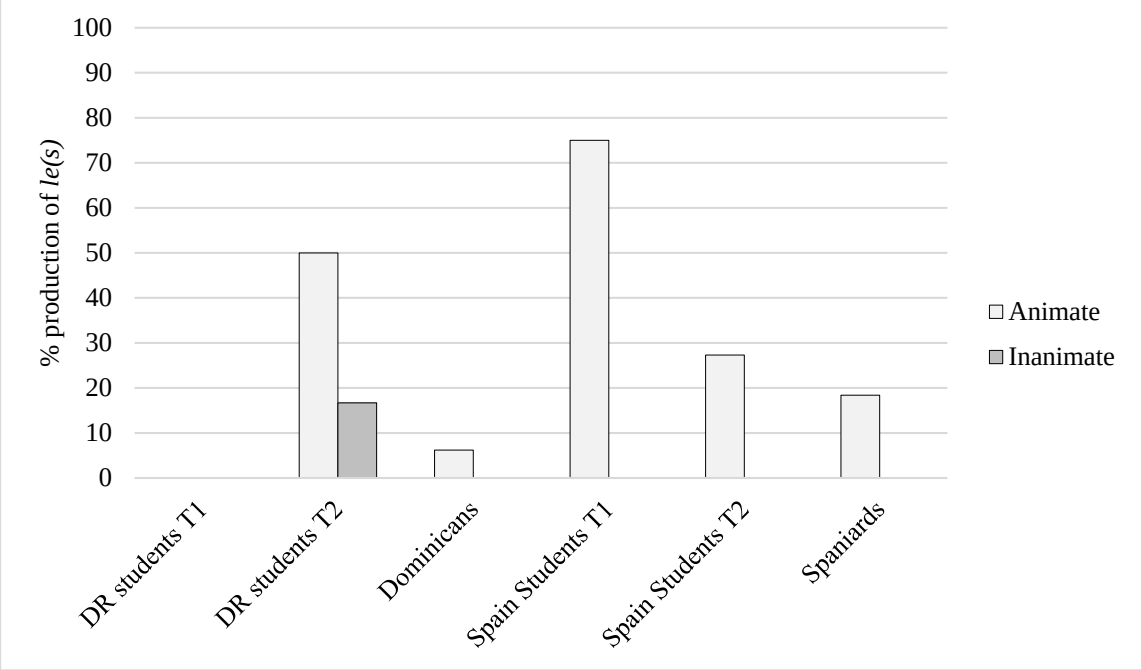
Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Animacy

	Animate		Inanimate		
	N	*% le(s)*	N	*% le(s)*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	0	*0.0*	1	*0.0*	n/a
D.R. students - T2	4	*50.0*	6	*16.7*	= .260
Dominicans	80	*6.2*	85	*0.0*	< .05
Spain students - T1	4	*75.0*	6	*0.0*	< .05
Spain students - T2	11	*27.3*	11	*0.0*	= .062
Spaniards	49	*18.4*	32	*0.0*	< .05

First, we see that with the exception of the D.R. students at Time 2, the object pronouns *le(s)* are only produced with animate referents. Hence, for almost all groups, inanimate referents are never referred to with the *le(s)* pronouns. However, for the D.R. students at Time 2, *le(s)* is produced with inanimate referents but more often with animate ones. Second, students produced a higher percentage of indirect *le(s)* with animate referents than either native speaker groups. Finally, for the Spain students, the percent of *le(s)* produced with animate referents at Time 2 more closely reflects the rates produced by the Spaniards and Dominicans than at Time 1.

Figure 28

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Animacy



4.2.3.1.2 Rates of le(s) by number in the interview

The following Table 91 shows the rates of *le(s)* produced within each category of the number factor. Again, the tables are followed by the bar chart showing the percent that *le(s)* was produced in each category.

Table 91

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Number

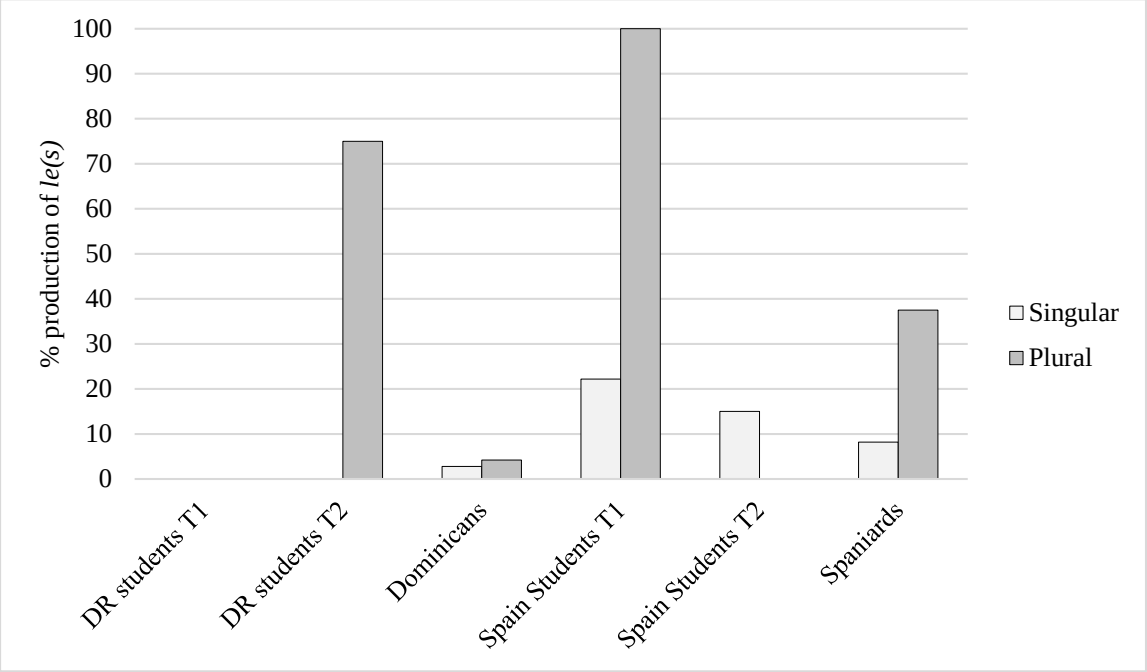
	Singular		Plural		
	N	*% le*	N	*% les*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	1	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	n/a
D.R. students - T2	5	*0.0*	5	*60.0*	= .167
Dominicans	141	*2.8*	24	*4.2*	= .549
Spain students - T1	9	*22.2*	1	*100.0*	= .300
Spain students - T2	17	*15.0*	2	*0.0*	= 1.000
Spaniards	73	*8.2*	8	*37.5*	< .05

For the native speakers, we see that the indirect object pronouns were produced more often with plural referents than singular referents. However, this was only found to be significant

for the Spaniards. We see that same direction for the D.R. students at Time 2 and the Spain students at Time 1. Indeed, for the D.R. students at Time 2, *le(s)* is only produced with plural referents whereas for the Spain students, both are produced at Time 1 but at Time 2, tokens of *le(s)* are only produced with singular referents. A visual display of the rates of *le(s)* is presented in Figure 29.

Figure 29

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Number



4.2.3.1.3 Rates of le(s) by Gender in the interview

The next set of results are those regarding the rates of *le(s)* within the categories of referent gender. The following Table 92 displays these rates followed by a bar chart displaying these rates as well.

Table 92

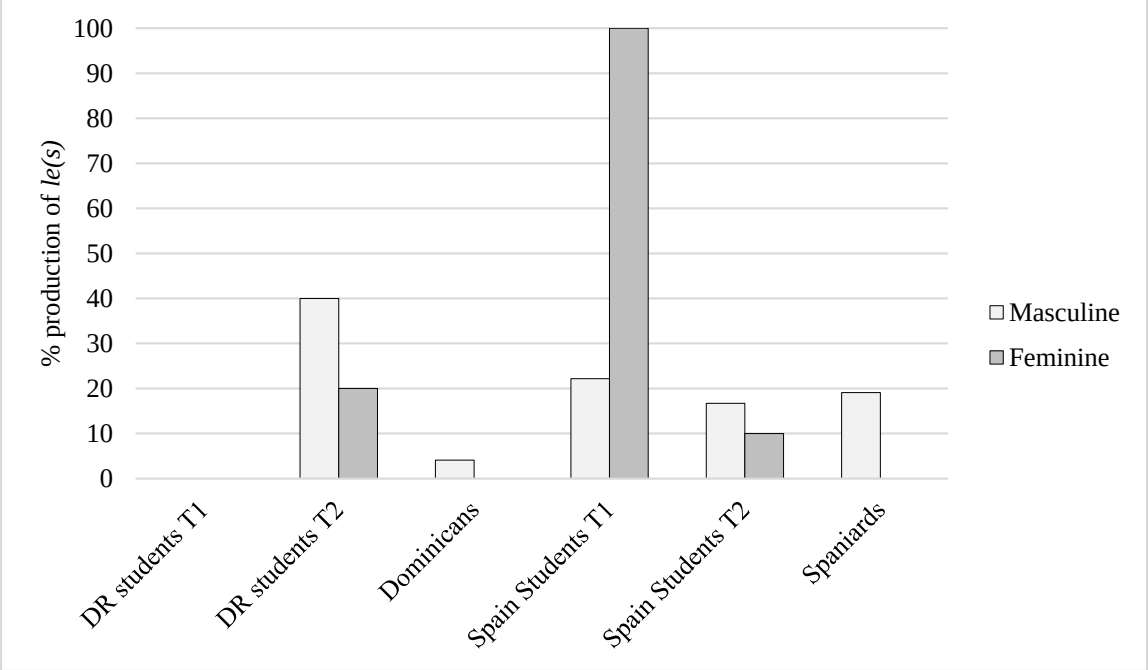
Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Gender

	Masculine		Feminine		
	N	*% le(s)*	N	*% le(s)*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	1	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	n/a
D.R. students - T2	5	*40.0*	5	*20.0*	= 1.000
Dominicans	121	*4.1*	44	*0.0*	= .326
Spain students - T1	9	*22.2*	1	*100.0*	= .300
Spain students - T2	12	*16.7*	10	*10.0*	= 1.000
Spaniards	47	*19.1*	34	*0.0*	< .01

Although this factor was only significant for the Spaniards, we see that for both native speaker groups, *le(s)* was only ever used in accusative contexts to refer to masculine referents. For the students, on the other hand, tokens of *le(s)* were produced with feminine referents. However, at Time 2, higher rates of *le(s)* were produced with masculine referents than feminine referents for both groups as shown in the following Figure 30.

Figure 30

Rates of *le(s)* produced in the interview by Gender



4.2.3.2 Regression results for object pronoun selection in the WCT

For the results of the selection of object pronouns in the WCT, a GEE binary logistic regression was run to determine the significant factors for each group at each time. The following Table 93 presents the results of the regression with the significant factors for each group shown. As a reminder, three factors were manipulated in the task for the object pronoun items and as such were included in the regression analyses: Object referent gender (Gender), the animacy of the object referent (Animacy) and the telicity of the verb associated with the object (Telicity).

Table 93

Results for the binary logistic regression of object pronoun variation in the WCT

	Gender	Animacy	Telicity
D.R. students – T1		X**	
D.R. students – T2			
Dominicans			
Spain students –T1		X**	
Spain students –T2		X***	
Spaniards	X**	X***	

The results of the WCT show similarities and differences from the interview data. For instance, Gender and Animacy are significant for the Spaniards which was also found in the interview data. However, in the WCT, no factor was significant for the Dominicans whereas Animacy was significant in the interview data. Moreover, Telicity was never significant for any group. For the D.R. students, the only factor that was significant at Time 1 was Animacy and at Time 2, nothing was significant similar to the Dominicans. For the Spain students, Animacy was also significant at Time 1, but in contrast to the D.R. students, Animacy was still a significant predictor of variation between object pronouns at Time 2.

4.2.3.2.1 Rates of object pronouns in the WCT by Gender

In this section, the rates of the selection of *le* by gender is presented in the following Table 94 and bar graph (Figure 31). This factor includes the two possible categories of grammatical gender in Spanish: masculine and feminine. This factor was only significant for the Spaniards.

Table 94

Rates of *le* selected in the WCT by Gender

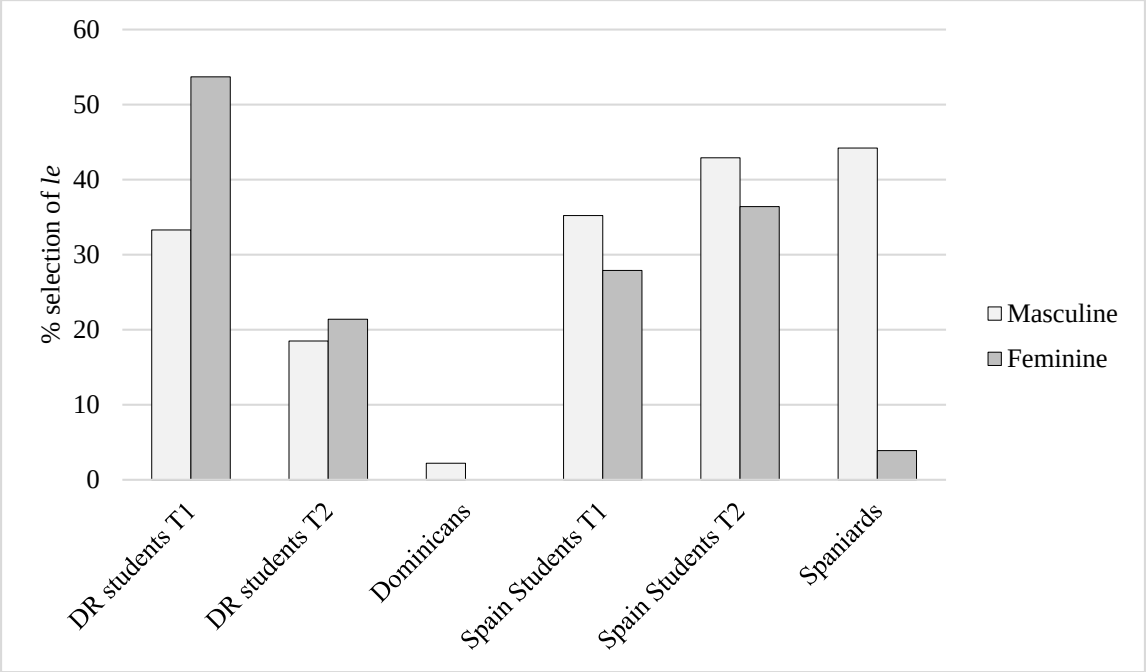
	Masculine		Feminine		
	N	*% le*	N	*% le*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	54	*33.3*	41	*53.7*	= .075
D.R. students - T2	54	*18.5*	42	*21.4*	= .561
Dominicans	89	*2.2*	70	*0.0*	= .800
Spain students - T1	54	*35.2*	43	*27.9*	= .202
Spain students - T2	56	*42.9*	44	*36.4*	= .358
Spaniards	95	*44.2*	76	*3.9*	< .01

For the Dominicans, when *le* was selected, it always referred to a masculine referent. For the Spaniards, *le* was selected primarily with masculine referents and rarely with feminine referents. Specifically, *le* was selected at a rate of 3.9% for feminine referents and 44.2% for masculine referents. This is similar to the results for the interview in which *le(s)* always referred to masculine referents for the native speakers. Regarding the students, *le* was selected more often with feminine referents for the D.R. students at both Time 1 and Time 2. In addition, the rates of selection of *le* reduces in both categories of this factor but more so among items with feminine referents. For the Spain students, *le* was selected more often with masculine referents for the Spain students at both times. Moreover, the rates of selection of *le* increased in both categories in a similar fashion. Finally, for the D.R. students, the rates of selection of *le* in both categories more closely resembled the Dominicans at Time 2 than at Time 1. For the Spain students, only the rates

of *le* with masculine referents more closely resembles the Spaniards at Time 2 whereas the rates of selection of *le* with feminine referents are further from the Spaniards rates at Time 2 than Time 1.

Figure 31

Rates of *le* selected in the WCT by Gender



4.2.3.2.2 Rates of object pronouns in the WCT by Animacy

In this section, the results for animacy are presented. This factor included two categories: Objects with animate referents (Animate) and those which had inanimate referents (Inanimate). This factor was significant for all groups except for the D.R. students at Time 2 and the Dominicans.

Table 95

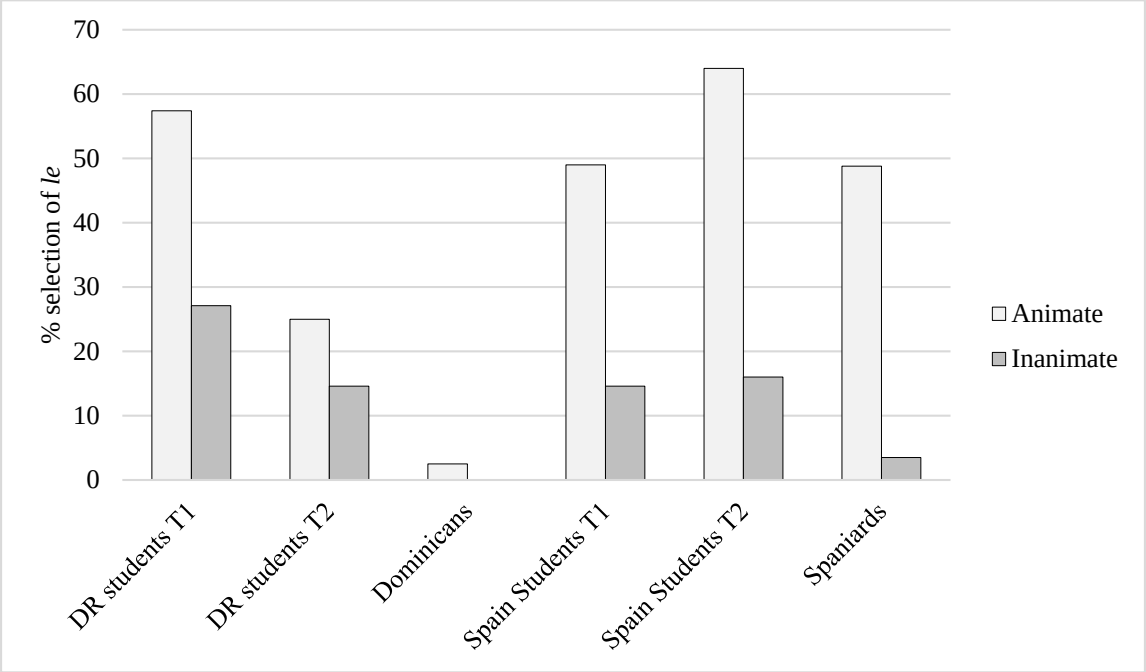
Rates of *le* selected in the WCT by Animacy

	Animate		Inanimate		
	N	*% le*	N	*% le*	p-value
D.R. students - T1	47	*57.4*	48	*27.1*	< .01
D.R. students - T2	48	*25.0*	48	*14.6*	= .119
Dominicans	79	*2.5*	80	*0.0*	n/a
Spain students - T1	49	*49.0*	48	*14.6*	< .01
Spain students - T2	50	*64.0*	50	*16.0*	< .001
Spaniards	86	*48.8*	85	*3.5*	< .001

As shown in Table 95, we see that for the native speakers, similar to the interview, *le* is selected more often with animate referents than inanimate ones. Indeed, for every group, *le* is selected more often with animate referents than inanimate ones. However, there are differences between groups. For example, whereas *le* is only ever selected for animate referents and at a very low rate for the Dominicans, *le* is selected at a rate of nearly 50% among animate referents for the Spain speakers. For the D.R. speakers, at Time 1 we see a significant difference between rates of selection of *le* for animate and inanimate referents whereas at Time 2 this difference decreases in the direction of the Dominicans' rate and is no longer significant. For the Spain students, the difference between categories increases between Time 1 and Time 2 but is not more similar to the Spaniards at Time 2 than at Time 1. These results are similar to the results of the interview since *le(s)* was always produced with animate referents for most groups. However, whereas the Spain students lowered their rate of *le(s)* with animate referents in the interview, in the WCT, the rate of *le* increased. These rates are displayed in Figure 32.

Figure 32

Rates of *le* selected in the WCT by Animacy



4.2.3.3 Summary of the regression results for the production and selection of object pronouns

In sum, it was found that variation between direct and indirect object pronouns in accusative contexts was constrained by Animacy for both native speaker groups and in the same direction: higher rates of *le(s)* with animate objects. Although this factor was the only significant factor for the Dominicans, Gender and Number was also significant for the Spaniards. For these speakers, *le(s)* was also more frequent when the referent was masculine and plural. For the student groups, the only factor that was significant for either group at any time was Animacy for the Spain students at Time 1. The Spain students produced higher rates of *le(s)* with animate than inanimate objects. However, a small minority of speakers produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts within all groups.

Regarding the WCT, it was found that whereas object Gender and Animacy constrained variation for the Spaniards, no factor constrained variation for the Dominicans who rarely selected *le* in the WCT. For the Spaniards, *le* was selected more often with items that had animate and masculine referents. For the student groups, variation was constrained by Animacy for both groups at Time 1.

4.3 Results for the Bivariate Pearson Correlation tests for the extra-linguistic factors

In this section, the results of the Bivariate Pearson Correlation tests are presented for the rates of selection/production of the linguistic structures under investigation and the extra-linguistic factors included in the study. These tests tell us whether or not there was a significant correlation between the rates of use of the forms for each structure and the scores each student was given for each of the included extra-linguistic factors based on the students' responses on the background questionnaire. The rates of production in the interview and selection in the WCT of the different forms for each structure were determined for each participant: for the subject forms, the rates of overt SPs were calculated for each student; for the past tense forms, the rates of the present perfect forms were determined; finally, the rates of indirect object pronouns were determined for each participant. Hence, each participant had twelve rates: three structures in two tasks at two data collection times. As a reminder, other than location of study abroad, there were five continuous extra-linguistic factors included in the analysis for each data collection time for a total of 10 factors. Finally, these tests were only run for the student participants as the factors were not relevant for the native speakers. After running the tests, it was discovered that two of the included extra-linguistic factors never even approached significance for either of the student groups, at either time, or for any structure. These factors were self-

reported contact during the study abroad, Time 2 self-reported proficiency. We begin this section with an overall summary of the factors that were either found to have a significant correlation with the rates of the linguistic structures or those that approached significance. This section is followed by sections detailing the direction of the correlations found at Time 1 for the D.R. students, then the Spain students at Time 1, followed by the D.R. students at Time 2 and finally the Spain students at Time 2.

4.3.1 Results for the Correlation tests for the extra-linguistic factors

In this section, an overall presentation of the extra-linguistic factors that were found to either be significant or approached significance at Time 1 for the two groups. Table 93 shows these factors for each group for each structure within each task at Time 1. At Time 1, bivariate correlation tests were run for the rates of selection and production of overt SPs (SP), the present perfect (PP), and *le* (OP) and the following extra-linguistic factors: Time 1 Grammar test scores (Gram_T1), Pre-university years of study (Pre_Univ), Highest level of university study (Univ_Lvl), self-reported proficiency at Time 1 (Self_Rate) and Self-reported contact before study abroad (Cont_B4). In Table 93, an X indicates that the factor at least approaches significance with the asterisks indicating a significant correlation as well as the relative p-value.

Table 96

Correlations between rates of structures and extra-linguistic factors at Time 1

Group	Task	Structure	Gram_T1	Pre_Univ	Univ_Lvl	Self_Rate	Cont_B4
D.R.S.	Int.	SP					
		PP				X**	
		OP					
	WCT	SP			X		
		PP		X			
		OP					
S.S.	Int.	SP		X			
		PP					
		OP					
	WCT	SP					
		PP					X*
		OP	X				

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

As can be seen in the previous Table 96, very few extra-linguistic factors correlated with rates of production/selection of the linguistic structures in the interview and the WCT. Only two factors reached significance and four approached significance for the groups. For the D.R. students, Self-reported proficiency significantly correlated with the rates of production of the present perfect in the interview. In addition, highest level of university study approached significance with its correlation to rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT whereas Pre-university years of study approached a significant correlation with rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT. For the Spain students, self-reported contact before study abroad significantly correlated with rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT. In addition to this factor, Pre-university years of study approached a significant correlation with the production of overt SPs in the interview and Time 1 Grammar scores approached a significant correlation with rates of selection of *le* in the WCT.

At Time 2, bivariate correlation tests were run for the rates of selection and production of the rates of each structure and the following four extra-linguistic factors:

Time 2 Grammar test scores (Gram_T2), Self-reported proficiency at Time 2 (Self_Rate), Self-reported contact before during abroad (Cont_B4), and finally self-reported attitude toward the culture, people and the dialect of Spanish (Attitude). The following Table 97 displays the factors that were either significant or approached significance.

Table 97

Correlations between rates of structures and extra-linguistic factors at Time 2

Group	Task	Structure	Gram_T2	Self_Rate	Cont_SA	Attitude
D.R. stud.	Int.	SP				
		PP				
		OP				
	WCT	SP				
		PP				
		OP	X			X
Spain stud.	Int.	SP				X
		PP				
		OP				
	WCT	SP				
		PP				
		OP				X*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

In the previous Table 97, we see that no extra-linguistic factor was ever significant for the D.R. students at Time 2. However, two factors approached significance: the students' attitude scores and grammar test scores approached a significant correlation with the selection of *le* in the WCT. For the Spain students, their attitude scores significantly correlated with the selection of *le* in the WCT whereas their attitude scores approached a significant correlation with the rates of overt SPs produced in the interview.

4.2.1.5.1 Direction of the correlations for the extra-linguistic factors

As stated in the previous section, at Time 1, only one extra-linguistic factor significantly correlated with any of the linguistic structures for the D.R. students: Time 1 self-rated proficiency positively correlated with the rate at which the D.R. students

produced the present perfect in the interview [r = .794, n = 11, p < .01]. The higher the self-rated proficiency score, the higher the rate of use of the present perfect. This correlation is shown in the following Table 98 and Figure 33 which displays a scatter plot of the numbers presented in Table 98.

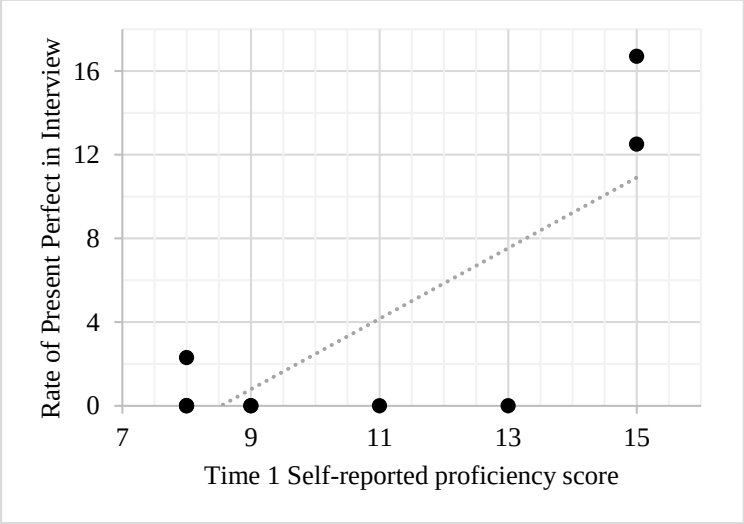
Table 98

Time 1 rates of the present perfect in the interview by Time 1 Self-reported proficiency scores for the D.R. students

Part.	% PP	Self_Rate
1	16.7	15
5	12.5	15
4	2.3	8
10	0.0	13
7	0.0	11
9	0.0	10
11	0.0	9
2	0.0	9
3	0.0	8
6	0.0	8
8	0.0	8

Figure 33

Scatter plot of Time 1 rates of production of the present perfect by Time 1 Self-reported proficiency scores



As shown in Figure 33, the students that produced the highest rates of present perfect in the interview also rated themselves the highest regarding their proficiency in Spanish. However, as presented in Table 98, most of the D.R. students never produced a single token on the present perfect in the interview.

In addition to this factor, two other extra-linguistic factors approached significance for this group at Time 1. First, the highest level of university study positively correlated with the rate of selection of overt SPs in the WCT [r = .538, n = 11, p = .088]. Hence, the higher the level of university study, the more they tended to select overt SPs in the WCT. These trends are displayed in the following Table 99 and Figure 34.

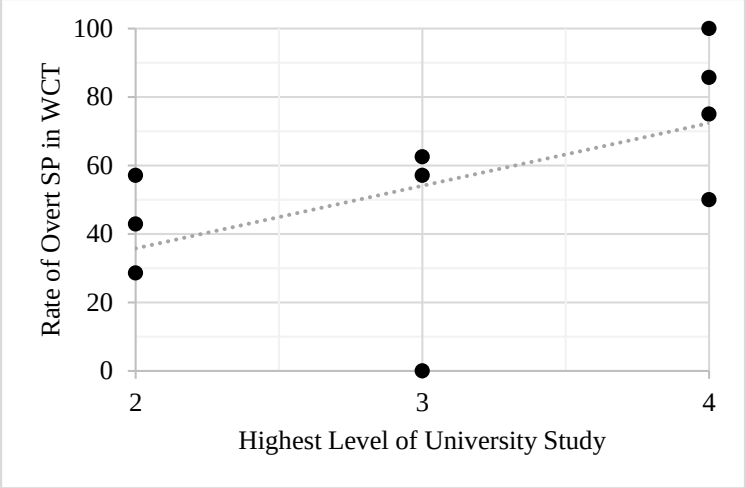
Table 99

Time 1 rates of overt SPs in the WCT by highest level of university study for the D.R. students

Part.	% Overt SP	Univ_Lvl
4	100	4th year
6	85.7	4th year
8	75	4th year
3	62.5	3rd year
10	57.1	2nd year
5	57.1	3rd year
9	57.1	4th year
2	50	4th year
1	42.9	2nd year
11	28.6	2nd year
7	0	3rd year

Figure 34

Scatter plot of rates of overt SPs in the WCT at Time 1 by highest level of university study for the D.R. students



Second, the years of pre-university (K-12) study negatively correlated with the rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT [r = -.538, n = 11, p = .088]. In other words, the more years of pre-university study, the less the present perfect was selected in the WCT by this group at Time 1 as shown in the subsequent Table 100 and Figure 35.

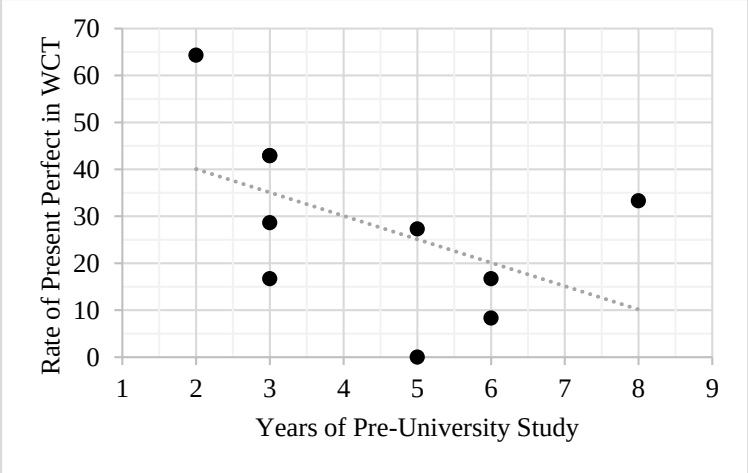
Table 100

Time 1 rates of selection of present perfect in the WCT by Years of pre-university study for the D.R. students

Part.	% PP	Pre_Univ
6	64.3	2
9	57.1	3
10	42.9	3
11	42.9	3
3	33.3	8
4	28.6	3
1	27.3	5
2	16.7	3
8	16.7	6
7	8.3	6
5	0	5

Figure 35

Scatter plot of rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT by Years of pre-university study for the D.R. students



The Spain students also only had one factor significantly correlated with any of the linguistic structures: The selection of the present perfect in the WCT positively correlated with the students' self-reported contact before studying abroad [$r = .647$, $n = 11$, $p < .05$]. Those students who reported more contact with Spanish before studying abroad tended to select higher rates of the present perfect in the WCT as displayed here.

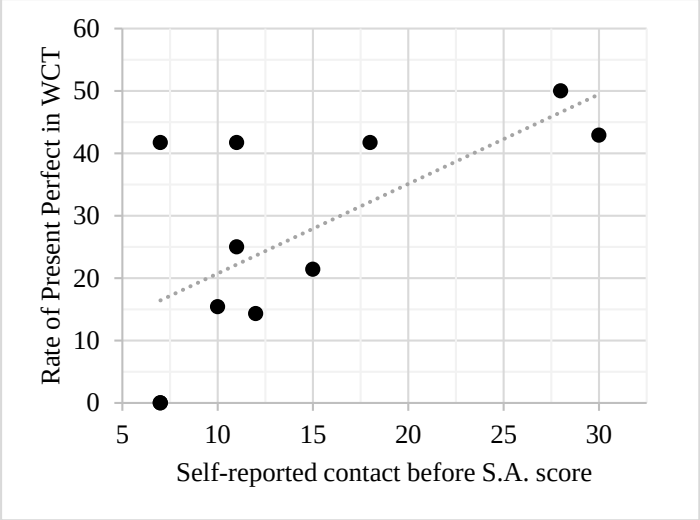
Table 101

Time 1 rates of selection of present perfect in the WCT by self-reported contact before study abroad for the Spain students

Part.	% PP	Cont_B4
9	50	28
8	42.9	30
1	41.7	11
5	41.7	18
6	41.7	7
11	25	11
2	21.4	15
7	15.4	10
4	14.3	12
10	0	7
3	0	7

Figure 36

Scatter plot of rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT by self-reported contact before study abroad for the Spain students



These students also had two additional factors that approached significance: First, the rates of overt SPs in the interview positively correlated with pre-university years of study [r = .587, n = 11, p = .058]; similar to the rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT by highest year of university course enrollment for the D.R. students at Time 1, the students with more pre-university years of study tended to produce higher rates of overt SPs in the interview.

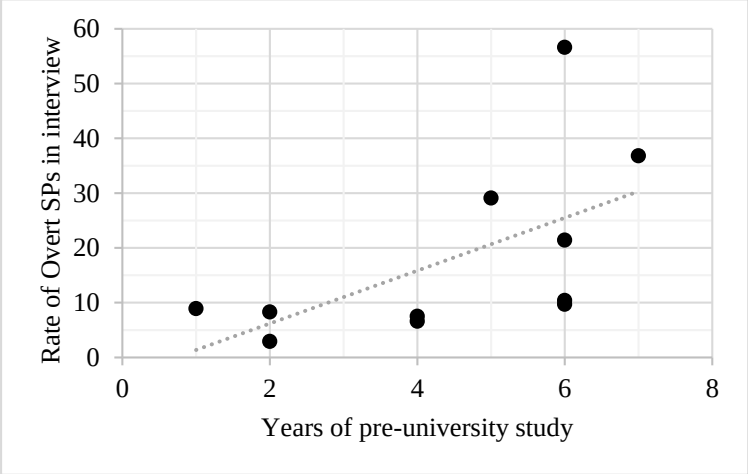
Table 102

Time 1 rates of overt SPs in the interview by years of pre-university study for the D.R. students

Part.	% overt SPs	Pre_Univ
10	56.6	6
6	36.8	7
8	29.1	5
4	21.4	6
2	10.4	6
7	9.7	6
9	8.9	1
11	8.3	2
1	7.5	4
5	6.6	4
3	2.9	2

Figure 37

Scatter plot of rates of overt SPs in the Interview by Years of pre-university study for the D.R. students



Second, the rate of selection of *le* in the WCT correlated negatively with the Time 1 grammar scores [r = -.522, n = 11, p = .099]. That is to say, the higher the score on the grammar test, the lower the rate of selection of *le* in the task.

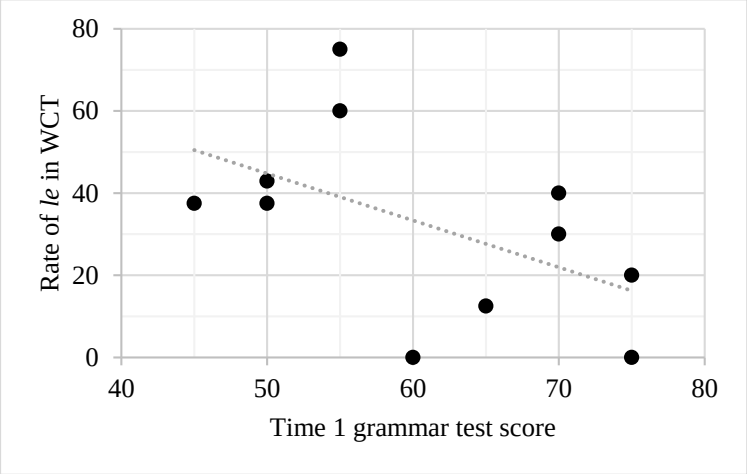
Table 103

Time 1 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Time 1 grammar test scores for the D.R. students

Part.	% *le*	Gram_T2
9	75	55
5	60	55
2	42.9	50
4	40	70
3	37.5	45
10	37.5	50
6	30	70
7	20	75
3	12.5	65
11	0	75
8	0	60

Figure 38

Scatter plot of Time 1 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Time 1 grammar test scores for the D.R. students



At Time 2, there were no significant correlations between rates of the structures and any of the extra-linguistic factors for the D.R. students. However, there were two factors that approached significance: First, the selection of *le* in the WCT negatively correlated with the students' attitude scores [r = -.550, n = 11, p = .080]. In other words, the higher the attitude score, the less the students selected *le* on the task as demonstrated in the following Table 101 and scatter plot (Figure 39).

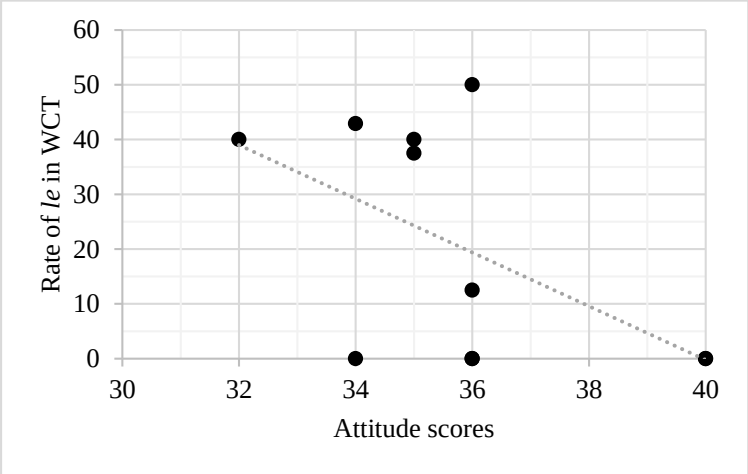
Table 104

Time 2 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by attitude scores for the D.R. students

Part.	% *le*	Attitude
10	50	36
9	42.9	34
1	40	35
8	40	32
4	37.5	35
6	12.5	36
5	0	40
2	0	40
3	0	36
11	0	36
7	0	34

Figure 39

Scatter plot of Time 2 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Attitude scores for the D.R. students



In addition to this factor, the students' grammar test scores at Time 2 also correlated negatively with their rates of selection of *le* in the WCT [r = -.526, n = 11, p = .096]. In general, the higher the score on the grammar test, the less *le* was selected in the WCT as shown in the following tables.

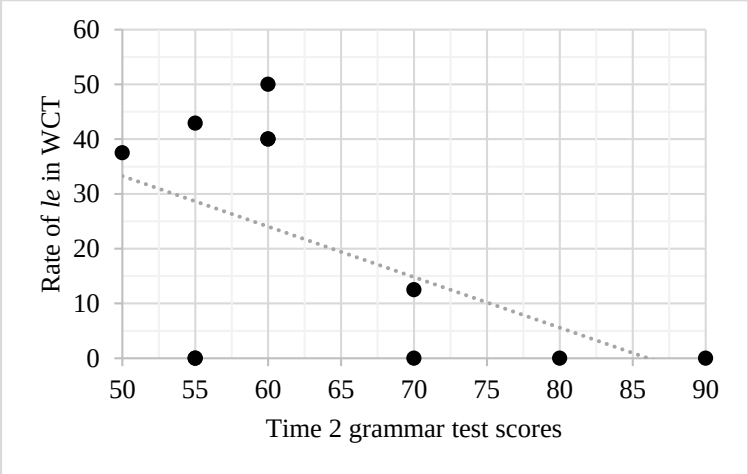
Table 105

Time 2 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Time 2 Grammar test scores for the D.R. students

Part.	% *le*	Gram_T2
10	50	60
9	42.9	55
8	40	60
1	40	60
4	37.5	50
6	12.5	70
5	0	90
7	0	80
2	0	70
3	0	55
11	0	55

Figure 40

Scatter plot of rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Time 2 Grammar test scores for the D.R. students



For the Spain students, one factor was significant at Time 2. For this group, their self-reported attitude scores correlated positively with their selection of *le* in the WCT [r = .724, n = 11, p < .05]. In contrast to the D.R. students, the higher the attitude score, the higher the rate of selection of *le* as shown in the following Table 106 and Figure 41.

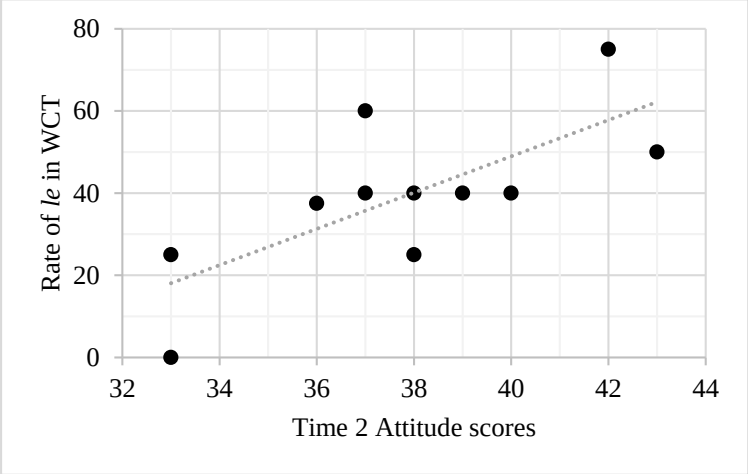
Table 106

Time 2 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT Attitude scores for the Spain students

Part.	% *le*	Attitude
4	75	42
1	60	37
5	50	43
10	40	40
6	40	39
11	40	38
9	40	37
2	37.5	36
8	25	38
3	25	33
7	0	33

Figure 41

Scatter plot of Time 2 rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by Attitude scores for the Spain students



In addition, there was a correlation between attitude scores and the rate of overt SPs in the interview that approached significance [r = .527, n = 22, p = .096]. In this case, the higher the attitude, the higher the rates of overt SPs were produced in the interview.

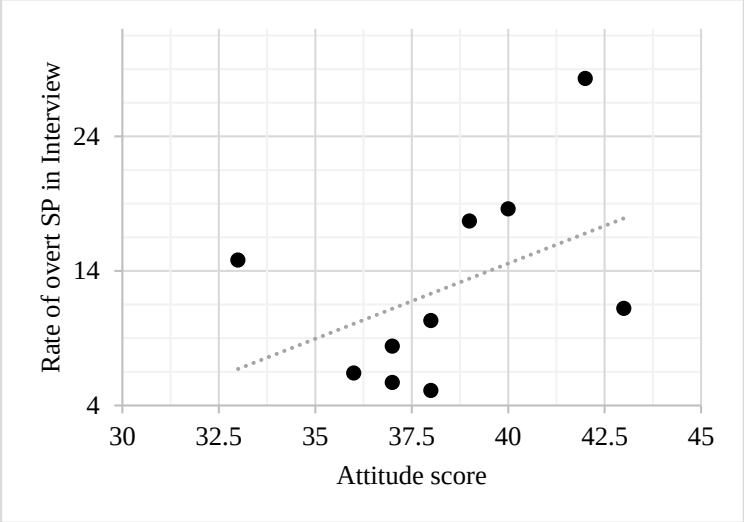
Table 107

Time 2 rates of production of overt SPs in the interview by Attitude scores for the Spain students

Part.	% overt SPs	Attitude
4	28.3	42
10	18.6	40
6	17.7	39
7	14.8	33
5	11.2	43
8	10.3	38
1	8.4	37
2	6.4	36
9	5.7	37
11	5.1	38
3	4.8	33

Figure 42

Scatter plot of Time 2 rates of production of overt SPs in the interview by Attitude scores for the Spain students



4.3.3 Summary of the Correlation tests for the extra-linguistic factors

In sum, very few significant correlations were found between the extra-linguistic factors and the rates of production and selection of forms in the WCT. Regarding the specific correlations, it was found that rate of overt SPs never significantly correlated with any of the extra-linguistic factors. However, rates did approach significance in three cases:

For the D.R. students at Time 1, rates selected in the WCT correlated positively with highest level of university study. For the Spain students, at Time 1 rates of overt SPs in the interview correlated positively with pre-university years of study whereas at Time 2 rates correlated positively with attitude scores.

The rates of the present perfect, on the other hand, significantly correlated with two of the extra-linguistic factors and approached significance with another at Time 1. Specifically, rates of the present perfect produced by the Spain students in the interview at Time 1 has a significant positive correlation with Time 1 self-reported proficiency. For the Spain students, rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT at Time 1 significantly correlated to students' self-reported contact before studying abroad. As concerns correlations with the present perfect that approached significance, it was found for the D.R. students that rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT at Time 1 negatively correlated with the years of pre-university study. At Time 2, the rates of the present perfect in either task did not even approach a significant correlation with any of the extra-linguistic factors.

There was one significant correlation found regarding the rates of *le*: Rates of selection of *le* in the WCT at Time 2 by the Spain students had a significant positive correlation with attitude scores. The selection of *le* was also found to approach a significant correlation with a few factors: First, it was found that rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by the Spain students at Time 1 had a negative correlation with Time 1 grammar test scores. At Time 2, it was found that rates of selection of *le* in the WCT by the D.R. students had a negative correlation with their attitude scores and grammar test scores.

CHAPTER 5

In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed in light of the research questions, previous research and the predictions proposed in the Methods section 3.3. Additionally, the results will be discussed regarding how they contribute to the overarching goals of the study to gain a better understanding of the process of acquiring sociolinguistic competence in a second language as well as to observe the use of specific grammatical forms before and after being exposed to dialects of Spanish which show differing patterns of use of the forms under investigation. Context of learning is seen as an important factor regarding language acquisition (e.g. Regan 1995; Tarone & Lui 1995), but few studies examining the L2 acquisition of variation in Spanish have examined context of learning as a potential factor. Among the studies that have examined context of learning on the acquisition of variation, they have either been limited to a single linguistic structure (e.g. Salgado-Robles 2011), a single task (e.g. Kanwit et al. 2015; Kanwit & Solon 2013), or have only included one group of students that all studied abroad in the same region (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Ringer-Hilfinger 2012).

In order to accomplish the objectives of the current study and attempt to fill some of the aforementioned gaps in the literature, 22 students and 22 native speakers of Spanish completed a semi-guided interview as well as a WCT in which the participants' patterns of use and selection of subject forms, object forms and the present perfect/preterite were analyzed. The students completed the tasks once at the beginning of a semester-long study abroad program in either Spain or the Dominican Republic and again near the end of the semester. The first several sections are organized into sections and subsections based on these research questions. Hence, we begin by discussing the findings for rates of selection

of forms in the WCT, followed by a discussion of the rates of production of forms in the interview, then a discussion of the development of linguistic factors affecting variation, and finally a discussion of the findings for the extra-linguistic factors. These sections are followed by a section discussing the relevance of the current findings with regard to the previous research on the L2 acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in general. Finally, in the Conclusion section, a brief summary of the findings is presented followed by sections discussing the limitations of the current study along with ideas for future research.

5.1 Discussion of results with regard to research question 1

The first research questions asked what the rate of selection of forms to express first and third person subject personal pronouns (*overt SPs* vs. *null subjects*), the past tense of telic predicates (*present perfect* vs. *preterite*) and finally third person singular object pronouns in accusative contexts (*le* vs. *lo*/*la*) would be in the WCT for the native speakers and the students at Time 1 and Time 2. We begin by discussing the results for subject pronouns, followed by the present perfect and then object pronouns. In each section, the rates of selection of the forms by the native speakers in the WCT are discussed first, followed by the student groups at Time 1 then the student groups at Time 2.

5.1.1 Rates of subject pronouns selected in WCT

Concerning the native speakers, it was predicted that the Dominicans would select overt SPs at rates higher than the Spaniards as found in previous research (e.g. Otheguy & Zentella 2012) and that both groups would select higher rates of null subjects than overt SPs (e.g. Cameron 1992). These predictions were partially supported in the study as displayed in Table 108.

Table 108

Rates of overt SPs selected in the WCT

Group	Time	% Overt SP
D.R. students	1	55.6
	2	60.2
Dominicans	n/a	46.0
Spain students	1	51.8
	2	52.3
Spaniards	n/a	36.7

Although the trend was found to be in the expected direction since the Dominicans selected overt SPs at a rate of 46.0% whereas the Spaniards selected them at a rate of 36.7%, the difference was not found to be significant. However, it was found that the group trends were generally supported by the rates for each individual speaker (see Table 41 in section 4.1.1.1); the majority of the individual Dominican participants selected overt SPs at higher rates than the majority of Spaniard participants similar to what has been found in previous research examining oral data that compares rates of subject pronouns across dialects (e.g. Otheguy & Zentella 2012).

For the students, on the other hand, it was predicted that at Time 1, students as a group would select more null subjects than overt SPs based on previous research using similar tasks (e.g. Geeslin & Linford 2012; Geeslin et al. 2013, Geeslin et al. 2015). This prediction was not supported in the study given that both groups selected overt SPs at a higher rate than null subjects at Time 1. Indeed, out of the 22 students from both groups, only 8 selected more null subjects than overt SPs in the WCTs at Time 1 (see Table 45 in section 4.1.1.2). This finding, although unexpected, may be due at least in part to the nature of the task. For instance, although the Dominicans selected overt SPs at rate of 46%—a rate similar to those that have been found in previous research (e.g. Martínez-Sanz 2011; Otheguy & Zentella 2012)—the Spaniard rate of nearly 37% overt SPs was reasonably

higher than those found in previous research based on oral and written data. Specifically, studies have shown that speakers of peninsular Spanish produce between 21% and 27% overt SPs (Cameron 1992; Enríquez 1984; Miró Vera & Pineda 1982; Ranson 1991; Rosengren 1974) in oral speech and in a similar WCT, select overt SPs at a rate of 30% (Geeslin et al. 2015). Thus, the finding that the Spaniards selected relatively high rates of overt SPs in the task may be an indicator that the WCTs employed in the current study may simply elicit higher rates of overt SPs than other tasks.

It was also predicted that at Time 1 students as a group would select overt SPs at rates that were higher than the native speaker groups' rates since that is what has been found in previous research of leaners at similar levels of proficiency on similar tasks (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2015). Although it was not found to be significant, this finding was somewhat supported since both groups of students selected overt SPs at rates that were higher than both native speaker groups suggesting that students are within the high use of overt SP stage as proposed in Geeslin et al. (2015). Finally, it was expected that each of the student groups would select overt SPs at comparable rates since they were expected to have included students at comparable levels of proficiency. Although it was found that the Spain students group had a higher average on the grammar test, this hypothesis was supported since there were no significant differences between groups at Time 1. Moreover, upon an examination of individual rates, it was found that both groups included a wide range of rates of selection and there was not clear distinction between groups regarding rates of selection as found for the native speakers (see Table 45).

It was first predicted that the D.R. students would select overt SPs at higher rates than the Spain students at Time 2. Although the differences between groups were not found

to be significant, qualitatively speaking, this prediction was supported given that the D.R. students did in fact select overt SPs at a higher rate than the Spain students. This finding suggests that exposure to dialects with higher rates of a given form may lead to higher rates of use of that form in the students language as found in previous research on other variable structures such as Geeslin et al. (2012) and Kanwit et al. (2015) regarding the rates of the present perfect for students studying abroad in Spain and Salgado-Robles (2011) regarding the rates of *le* after a study abroad experience of students in Valladolid, Spain. Nevertheless, the range and the standard deviation for both the D.R. students and the Spain students was relatively large (see note to Table 46 in section 4.1.1.2) indicating quite a bit of individual variation as far as rates of selection similar to what Lopez-Ortega (2003) found regarding the rates of production of subject forms by four speakers who studied abroad in Spain. Thus, although this was true for the students as a group, it was not necessarily true for all.

As regards the rates of selection overt SPs by the students at Time 2, it was unclear whether or not the students' rates selection in the WCT would more closely resemble the rates of the native speakers from the region in which they studied abroad since previous research shown both trends. In the current study, similar to previous research on other structures (Geeslin et al. 2010; Kanwit et al. 2015; Kanwit & Solon 2013 [for the students studying in Spain]), the rates of selection of subject pronouns in the task was not found to be closer at Time 2 to the native-speaker rates for either group. Although both groups began with rates of overt SP selection that were higher than both groups of native speakers, they both increased their rates of selection of overt SPs between Time 1 and Time 2 instead of decreasing them. However, this increase in rates between Time 1 and Time 2 was not

significant which is again similar to what was found in Lopez-Ortega (2003). Whereas the D.R. students increased their overall rate of selection 4.6 percentage points, the Spain students increased their rate .5 percentage points. One possible reason as to why students in this as well as in other studies appear to move away from the native speaker norm regarding rates after studying abroad may be due to the stage in which the students find themselves. Indeed, previous research has found that students appear to follow a u-shaped pattern of development in which they become less target-like in some regard before they become more target-like (see Geeslin 2003; Ellis 1997). Indeed, they may still be on the path of increasing overt SP use as they increase their proficiency and have not yet reached the stage of development in which they decrease their rates of use (see Geeslin et al. 2015).

5.1.2 Rates of present perfect selected in WCT

Concerning the rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT, it was first predicted that the Spaniards would select higher rates of the present perfect in the WCT than the Dominicans. As predicted and in line with previous research (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008), it was found that overall, the Spaniards selected higher rates of present perfect than the Dominicans as shown in Table 109.

Table 109

Rates of present perfect selected in the WCT

Group	Time	% PP
D.R. students	1	31.5
	2	16.8
Dominicans	n/a	6.1
Spain students	1	26.2
	2	30.4
Spaniards	n/a	20.3

Whereas the Spaniards selected the present perfect at a rate of 20.3%, the Dominicans rate of selection of the present perfect was 6.1%. However, similar to rates of selection of the

subject pronouns, there was no significant difference between these groups. Nevertheless, the group tendencies were also found among the individual participants given that the majority of Spaniards (N = 9) selected the present perfect at a rate higher than all of the Dominicans that were included in the analysis. Hence, despite the lack of significance, there appear to be a clear trend in the expected direction.

For the students, it was predicted that at Time 1, they would select higher rates of the preterite than the present perfect in the WCT as has been found in previous research on variation between the present perfect and the preterite (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015) and given the fact that the preterite is seen as the default form to mark the past tense (Salaberry 2000). This was found to be the case for the students in the current study since both groups selected the preterite more than two-thirds of the time; Whereas the D.R. students selected the preterite at a rate of 68.5% (31.5% present perfect), the Spain students selected them at a rate of 73.8% (26.2% present perfect). This group trend is supported by the finding that 19 of the 22 students selected the preterite at a rate higher than the present perfect (see Table 55 in section 4.1.2.2). It is important to point out, however, that like the students' rates of selection of overt SPs, the rates of selection of the present perfect for the D.R. students and the Spain students are higher than both groups of native speakers suggesting that in the WCT, learners are overgeneralizing the use of the present perfect at Time 1. Similar overuses of the present perfect before studying abroad were found in Kanwit et al. (2015) for the students studying in Mexico and in Geeslin et al. (2012) for students in León, Spain. This finding is especially interesting given the hypothesis that the preterite is the default form and as such, it may have been expected that the students would have overused the use of the preterite instead of the present perfect. However, this overuse

is quite possibly task-specific as will be discussed in further detail in the subsequent sections discussing the results of the interview.

For Time 2, it was predicted that the D.R. students would not show rates of selection of the present perfect more similar to the Dominicans given that Kanwit et al. (2015) found this to be the case for students studying abroad in another Latin-American dialect (Mexico). This was not supported given that the D.R. students as a group decreased their rates of the present perfect nearly 15 percentage points between Time 1 and Time 2, a rate with more closely resembled the Dominicans. Indeed, eight of the 11 D.R. students decreased their rates between times suggesting that this trend is not unique to a few students, but is what occurred for most (see Table 57 in section 4.1.2.2). However, this change in rates only approached significance. Furthermore, the Time 2 rate for this group was still more than 10 percentage points higher than the Dominicans suggesting a persistent overuse of the present perfect. For the Spain students, on the other hand, it was predicted that they would select the present perfect in the WCT at rates that more closely resembled the rates of the native speakers since that is what was found for Geeslin et al. (2012) and Kanwit et al. (2015) for students studying abroad in Spain. This prediction, however, was also not supported. Although it was not found to be significant, the Spain students increased their rate of selection of the present perfect more than four percentage points to a rate of 30.4%. Hence, they were further from the Spaniard rate at Time 2 than Time 1. Similar to the D.R. students' increase in the use of subject pronouns between Time 1 and Time 2 and in contrast to the previous research on the present perfect, the Spain students' as a group appear to overgeneralize the use of present perfect to an even greater degree after a semester of exposure to a dialect that has been shown to employ high rates of the present perfect.

Indeed, for both structures, students continue to show a persistent overuse of the less frequently selected forms even after a semester abroad.

5.1.3 Rates of object pronouns selected in WCT

Regarding the rates of *le* selected in the WCT by the native speakers, it was predicted that the Spaniards would select higher rates of *le* in the WCT than the Dominicans since previous research has shown Spaniards to employ *le* in accusative contexts (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque, Nicole & Lamiroy 1996; García & Otheguy 1977; Klein-Andreu 2000) and although García & Otheguy (1977) found that Latin American speakers also employed *le(s)* in accusative contexts, it is not clear that their selection of *le(s)* was *leísmo* real (De Mello 2002). Although the difference in rates between native-speaker groups only approached significance, this prediction was essentially supported given that the Spaniards as a group selected *le* at a rate of 26.3% whereas the Dominicans selected them at a rate of 1.3% as shown in Table 110.

Table 110

Rates of *le* selected in the WCT

Group	Time	% *le*
D.R. students	1	42.1
	2	19.8
Dominicans	n/a	1.3
Spain students	1	32.0
	2	40.0
Spaniards	n/a	26.3

These group trends were supported when looking at the individual participants since all Spaniards selected *le* at a rate higher than all included Dominicans.

For the students, it was predicted that at Time 1 students would select both indirect and direct object pronouns to refer to accusative objects as found in previous research

(Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011; Zyzik 2006). In line with previous research, this was found to be the case. In fact, just as was found with the selection of subject pronouns and the present perfect, both groups selected *le* at rates higher than both native speaker groups (although the differences in rates was only found to be significant between the student groups and the Dominicans). Additionally, like the other structures, it is again the case that the students overused the forms that were less frequently selected by the native speakers. This suggests that in the WCT, not only do students overgeneralize the use of *le* in accusative contexts, but all three structures. However, as will be discussed in further detail in sections, just because students appear to have overused these forms in the WCT does not mean that on other tasks the same overuse occurs.

At Time 2, it was unclear based on previous research whether or not students would select rates of *le* that more closely reflected the native-speaker rates given the diverging results found in previous studies (Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011). It was found that the D.R. students significantly lowered their rates more than 20 percentage points as a group to a rate that more closely reflected the Dominican rate similar to what Salgado-Robles (2011) found for the students studying abroad in Seville, Spain. This trend was also reflected in the individual trends since eight of the 11 participants lowered their rates between Time 1 and Time 2 (see Table 68 in section 4.1.3.1). However, again in similar fashion to the other structures, they continued to overgeneralize the use of *le* given that they selected them at rates higher than the Dominicans. The Spain students, in contrast, slightly increased their rates of selection of *le* (albeit no significantly) between Time 1 and Time 2 similar to what was found for the present perfect and in contrast to what was found

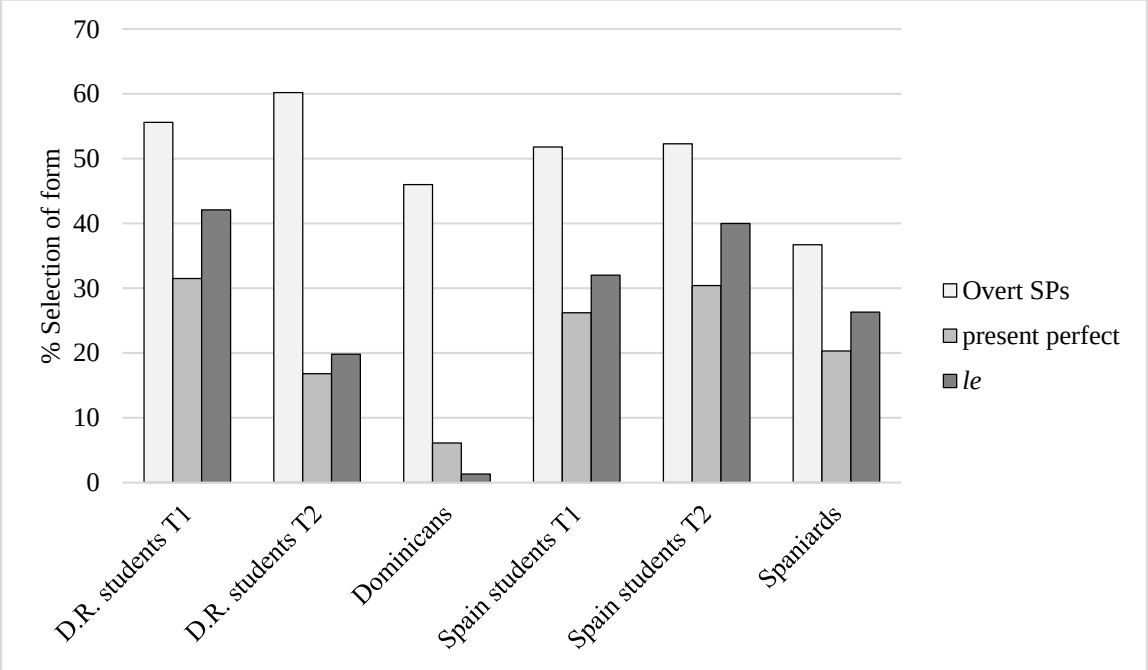
for the students in Geeslin et al. (2010). Hence, they appear to overgeneralize their use even more so at Time 1 than at Time 2.

5.1.4 Summary of results for rates of selection of forms in the WCT

By way of summary, it was found for the native speaker groups that although the differences between rates of selection of the forms in the WCT between groups was never found to be significant, in every case the prediction was essentially supported. That is to say, the Dominicans selected overt SPs at a higher rate than the Spaniards and the Spaniards selected the present perfect and *le* at a higher rate than the Dominicans as shown in Figure 43.

Figure 43

Rates of selection of overt SPs, the present perfect and *le* selected in the WCT



Regarding the students, there was a persistent tendency both before and after the study abroad for students to overgeneralize the use of overt SPs, the present perfect, and *le*. Overuse of linguistic forms is common in second-language acquisition such as when

learners employ one form as a sort of the default form to express a given meaning (e.g. Geeslin 2001; Salaberry 2000; Zyzik 2006) or when learners overuse formal linguistic forms (e.g. Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004; Dewaele 1992, Regan 1996). Indeed, as will be discussed in subsequent sections, one possible reason for the learners' overuse of these forms may be due to their lack of sensitivity to the factors guiding the variation between forms.

As concerns changes in rates overtime, there were few significant changes between Time 1 and Time 2. However, there were two cases in which the students adjusted their rates of selection to more closely reflect the rates of the native speakers from the region in which they studied abroad (i.e. the D.R. students decreased their rates of selection of the present perfect and *le*). However, for all structures, exposure to a dialect that used a given form at a higher rate than the other dialect led to an qualitative increase in the selection of that form by part of the students even though that meant that their rates would be further from the rates of the native speakers from the region in which they studied abroad. Specifically, although it was not found to be significant, the D.R. students increased their rates of overt SPs after studying abroad and the Spain students increased their rates of selection of *le* and the present perfect. These findings suggest that the students who are exposed to higher rates of use of a given form than they may have been accustomed to previously may increase the use of the form even though this increase may bring them further away from native-speaker rates. These findigns may be a result of the L2 learners asserting their newfound identity in Spanish that is more 'Dominican' for the D.R. students and more 'Spaniard' for the Spain students. Indeed, previous research suggests that a learner's identity and/or desire to fit in may affect the use of geographiocally-indexed

variants such as those examined in the current study (Geeslin & Gudmestad 2011/2008; George 2014). However, an increase in the use of dialect-specific forms has not always been found to be the case in for some studies. For instance, Kanwit et al. (2015) found increases of *ser*, the present perfect and the present progressive among the students studying in Mexico even though the forms were not always more frequent in Mexico than other dialects of Spanish. Another contrasting example is the fact that the students who studied abroad in Spain in Kanwit & Solon (2013) increased their use of the periphrastic future even though it is used less frequently in Spain than in other dialects of Spanish. Finally, Geeslin et al. (2010, 2012) found that students studying abroad in Spain lowered their rates of the *le* and the present perfect after studying abroad instead of increasing them. Hence, although the results of the current study point to a certain trend, more research is needed to confirm this tendency since there are many previous studies that do not find the same trend.

5.2 Discussion of results with regard to research question 2

The second research questions asked what the rates would be in an interview of forms used to express the grammatical subject, the past tense of telic predicates and the third person in accusative contexts. In the following sections, in a similar fashion as with the results for the WCT, we begin by discussing the results found for the subject forms, followed by the past tense and finally object forms.

5.2.1 Rates of subject forms produced in the interview

Similar to the WCT, the first prediction regarding the rates of use of subject forms was that both groups of native speakers would employ null subjects at a higher rate than other forms as has been found in the great majority of previous research on oral speech

across dialects of Spanish (e.g. Cameron 1992; Hochberg 1986; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1994). In line with previous research, this finding was supported in the current study since both the Dominicans and the Spaniards employed null subjects at a higher rate than any other form as shown in Table 111.

Table 111

Rates of subject forms produced in the interview

Group	Time	overt SP %	Null subj. %	Lexical NP %	Other %
D.R. students	1	19.0	69.5	10.3	1.2
	2	35.8	53.9	8.8	1.5
Dominicans	n/a	23.5	65.9	7.9	2.7
Spain students	1	19.9	68.8	10.4	0.9
	2	13.1	79.2	6.6	1.1
Spaniards	n/a	12.2	79.1	7.4	1.3

It was also predicted that the Dominicans would produce higher rates of overt SPs than the Spaniards similar to previous research (e.g. Cameron 1992). Although it only approached significance, this prediction was qualitatively supported since the Dominicans produced higher rates of overt SPs than the Spaniards. Furthermore, this group trend was supported for the individual speakers since the great majority of Dominicans produced overt SPs at a rate higher than the great majority of Spaniards (see Table 40 in section 4.1.1.1). Finally, both groups produced overt SPs at rates that were significantly lower than their rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT suggesting that the contexts in the WCT were more conducive to higher rates of overt SPs than the contexts in the interview.

For the student groups, it was predicted that at Time 1, students would employ higher rates of null subjects than any other form as found in previous research (Linford 2009; Geeslin et al. 2015). Unlike the WCT, this was found to be the case for the interview (see Table 111). Indeed, both groups employed null subjects at a rate of around 70% at

Time 1. Moreover, both groups produced overt SPs at comparable rates as well at nearly 20%. Unlike the selection of forms in the WCT, however, at Time 1 students did not produce overt SPs at rates higher than both native speaker groups. Indeed, both groups produced them at a rate lower than the Dominicans and higher than the Spaniards suggesting that in oral production, a clear pattern of overuse of subject forms may not occur. In addition, both groups produced overt SPs at rates that were significantly lower than the rates of selection of overt SPs in the WCT which again may serve as further confirmation that the contexts in the WCT may favor higher rates of overt SPs than the contexts in the interview. However, rates of overt SPs by the individual participants showed no correlation between tasks. Hence, the participants' patterns in the WCT do not necessarily reflect what they do when employing the forms in an oral task as one might expect if a WCT is a true reflection of naturalistic data. Although it is unclear as to why this is the case, it may be due to a potential lack of careful attention paid when completing the WCT, the participants over-thinking their answers in the task, differences between the students' oral and reading skills or the fact that the specific contexts in which the tokens were found were substantially different between tasks. Whatever the case be, it is clear that it should not be assumed that participants' performance on a WCT is a direct reflection of what they would do when producing oral discourse.

At Time 2, two predictions were made. The first was that students would possibly but not necessarily produce forms at rates that more closely resembled the rates of the native speakers from the country in which the studied abroad since Lopez-Ortega (2003) did not find significant changes regarding rates of forms used to express the subject after studying abroad. In the current study, it was found that the Spain students who showed

rates that were more similar to the Spaniards in every case between Time 1 and Time 2. Specifically, they lowered their rates of overt SPs and increased their rates of null subjects (see Table 111 above). This finding suggests that after a semester of exposure to a dialect, students are able to acquire region-specific rates of use of linguistic forms. This contrasts with the results of the WCT in which the Spain students did not show any substantial changes between Time 1 and Time 2 toward Spaniard-like rates of overt SP and null subjects. This suggests that some tasks, such as the WCT used in the current study, may not show development even though development may in fact be occurring as shown in the results for the interview. The D.R. students, in contrast, significantly increase their rate of overt SPs to a rate that is qualitatively higher than the Dominicans. Thus, similar to the WCT, this finding suggests that students who are exposed to a dialect that has a relatively high use of a given form may go through a phase of overuse of this form.

The other prediction that was posited for the students at Time 2 was that the D.R. students would have higher rates of overt SPs than the Spain students given their exposure to Dominican Spanish. As expected, although there were no significant differences regarding rates of overt SPs between student groups at Time 1, at Time 2, the D.R. students produced overt SPs at a rate that was significantly higher than the Spain students' rate. This finding is similar to what was found in previous research on the production of *le* (Salgado-Robles 2011) as well as the rates of selection of the present perfect in a WCT (Kanwit et al. 2015) as well as the trend found in the results of the WCT in the current study. In fact, upon analysis of the individual rates of the participants, there was a clear tendency for the D.R. students to produce overt SPs at rates that were higher than the Spain students (see Table 43 in section 4.1.1.2). Moreover, eight of the 11 D.R. students increased their rates

of overt SPs between Time 1 and Time 2 (see Table 44 in section 4.1.1.2). These findings offer further support that dialect exposure affects the acquisition of rates of variable forms despite the somewhat inconclusive previous research.

5.2.2 Rates of past tense forms in telic predicates produced in the interview

There were three predictions made for the native speakers regarding the rates of past tense forms to express telic actions in the past. First, it was predicted that the Dominicans would produce higher rates of the preterite than the present perfect based on previous research on Latin American Dialects of Spanish (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). In the current study, the prediction that the Dominicans would produce higher rates of the present perfect than the preterite was supported. In fact, Dominicans employed the preterite more than six times the rate of the present perfect (84.0% preterite; 13.2% present perfect) as displayed in Table 112.

Table 112

Rates of past tense forms in telic predicates produced in the interview

Group	Time	Present Perfect %	Preterite %	Other %
D.R. students	1	3.5	79.2	17.3
	2	6.2	85.8	8.0
Dominicans	n/a	13.2	84.0	2.9
Spain students	1	4.8	81.9	13.4
	2	14.1	75.1	10.8
Spaniards	n/a	28.8	70.1	1.1

For the Spaniards, on the other hand, it was expected based on previous research that they would produce higher rates of the present perfect than then preterite. This was not the case for the Spaniards, however, since they employed the preterite over two times the rate of the present perfect (70.1% preterite; 28.8% present perfect). Finally, it was hypothesized that the Spaniards would produce the present perfect at rates higher than the

Dominicans as previous research has consistently shown when comparing Peninsular and Latin American dialects (e.g. Westmoreland 1988; De Kock 1989; Penny 2000; Howe 2006; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). This was found to be the case for the current study as well: The Spaniards produced significantly higher rates of the present perfect than the Dominicans. Further confirmation of this trend was found among the individual participants since the great majority of Spaniards employed the present perfect at rates higher than the great majority of Dominicans (see Table 50 in section 4.1.2.1). Furthermore, in contrast to what was found for the overt SPs, both native-speaker groups produced the present perfect at a rate higher than they selected the present perfect in the WCT. However, this may be due to the fact that the WCT included contexts that may have favored higher rates of overt SPs but fewer contexts that favored the present perfect than the interview. For instance, no items in the WCT were found in irrelevant and indeterminate contexts based on the Temporal Reference factor, a context that has been shown to favor the present perfect in not only peninsular dialects of Spanish, but Latin American dialects as well (e.g. Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

Turning now to the students, it was hypothesized that at Time 1 students would produce higher rates of the preterite than the present perfect given previous research suggesting that the preterite is the default past-tense form (Salaberry 2000) and other studies have shown this to be the case on a written contextualized task (Geeslin et al. 2012). This prediction was supported by the results of the current study since both student groups employed the preterite around 80% of the time at Time 1. However, regarding the present perfect, it was found that both groups of students begin with an overall average rates of use of the present perfect that were significantly lower than both groups of native speakers.

Hence, the students to not appear to overgeneralize the rates of the present perfect as found in the WCT but demonstrate a possible underuse these forms. Moreover, these rates are also lower than the rates found for L2 learners in previous research employing WCTs (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015) as well as the WCT. This finding is especially intriguing given that the opposite trend was true for the native speakers who produced higher rates of the present perfect in the interview than they selected in the WCT. However, upon further examination of the students' oral data at Time 1, it was found that only 8.6% of their tokens were in indeterminate/irrelevant contexts whereas 18.2% of the native speakers' tokens were found in those same contexts that have been shown to favor the use of the present perfect. Thus, students are producing fewer contexts that favor the present perfect to begin with. In addition, some students did not employ the present perfect at all during the interview; Upon examination of the individual rates, it was found that 13 of the student speakers (D.R. students = 8; Spain students = 5) never produced the present perfect in the interview at Time 1 (see Table 52 in section 4.1.2.2). This suggests that some students are either not producing contexts in which they would use the present perfect, or they are overgeneralizing the use of the other forms in these contexts.

At Time 2, it was first predicted that the Spain students' rates of production of the present perfect would more closely resemble the rates of the Spaniards. In contrast to the WCT, this finding was supported since the Spain students significantly increased their production of the present perfect to rates that more closely reflected the native speaker rates (see Table 112). However, they still produced the present perfect at a rate that was significantly lower than the Spaniards suggesting that they have not yet acquired target-like rates of production of the present perfect. The increase in the rates of the present perfect

is reminiscent of the findings in the WCT. For the D.R. students, it was unclear whether or not they would increase their rates of the present perfect. Although it wasn't found to be significant, the D.R. students increased their rates of the present perfect to a rate that was not significantly different from the Dominican rate. Similar to the Spain students, however, their rate was still lower than the native speaker groups. Indeed, both groups' rates of the present perfect were still lower than the native speaker rates as well as their rates of selection in the WCT suggesting a possible underuse of the present perfect when speaking. This lack of use of the present perfect may be attributable at least in part to the lack of sufficient input in the use of the present perfect to acquire this form. For instance, the present perfect represented less than 5% of the total verb tokens in the current dataset whereas the preterite represented nearly 20%. Furthermore, at Time 2, both student groups continued to use other forms at rates higher than the native speakers who rarely used them in the included contexts. Hence, at Time 2, it appears that students are still acquiring the ability to not overgeneralize the use of other forms, such as the present, imperfect, and infinitive forms, to denote completed actions in the past. It does not appear to necessarily be due to an overuse of the preterite since the rates of the preterite at Time 1 for both groups were between the Spaniard and Dominican rates.

The other prediction made was the D.R. students would produce the present perfect at rates that were lower than the rates of the present perfect for the Spain students given the findings of previous research (Kanwit et al. 2015). Although it was not found to be significant, this hypothesis was qualitatively supported since the D.R. students employed the present perfect at a rate that was lower than the rate of the Spain students. This again suggests that the input to which the students are exposed affects the path they follow

regarding rates of use of linguistic forms. However, examining the individual rates shows quite a bit of variation between participants regarding the rates of the present perfect with students from both groups showing both high and low rates of the present perfect in the interview (see Table 53 in section 4.1.2.2). Thus, in contrast to the selection of the present perfect in the WCT, the group trend is not a clear reflection of the individual trends.

5.2.3 Rates of third person object forms in accusative contexts in the interview

We now discuss the results for the native speakers regarding the production of the object forms in third person contexts. It was predicted that Dominicans would not produce *le* in the included accusative contexts and that the Spaniards would produce them as found in previous research (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque, Nicole & Lamiroy 1996; García & Otheguy 1977; Klein-Andreu 2000). This prediction was only partially supported. First, there were three Dominicans that employed *le(s)* in accusative contexts (see Table 61 in section 4.1.3.1), a finding that has never before been attested in the research. De Mello (2002) indicates that certain uses of *le(s)* in supposed accusative contexts exist in dialects of Latin American Spanish, but that these uses are limited to specific contexts and as such are not cases of '*leísmo real.'* None the contexts that De Mello presents as being a possible context in which *le(s)* could potentially be used in Latin American dialects were included in the analysis. The second finding was that only three Spaniards produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts despite the fact that all of them selected *le* at least once in the WCT (see Table 61 and Table 62 in section 4.1.3.1). The rate of *le(s)* produced in accusative contexts was higher for the Spaniards than for the Dominicans as shown in Table 113, but lower than their rate of selection of *le* in the WCT and the rates of *le(s)* found in previous

research on Spaniard speakers (e.g. Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; García & Otheguy 1977; Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado Robles 2011).

Table 113

Rates of object forms produced in the interview

Group	Time	*le(s)* %	*lo(s)/la(s)* %	Lexical NP %	Other %
D.R. students	1	0.0	2.9	82.9	14.3
	2	3.0	6.9	73.3	16.8
Dominicans	n/a	2.2	71.7	22.9	3.1
Spain students	1	4.1	9.5	83.8	2.7
	2	3.3	20.7	69.6	6.5
Spaniards	n/a	7.3	59.3	31.7	1.6

Nevertheless, the reason for the lower rate and the fact that many Spaniards never produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts may at least in part due to the failure of the interview to elicit object pronouns in general as well as objects in contexts that have been shown to favor the use of *le(s)* within *leísta* dialects. Specifically, in contrast to the WCT that contained an even distribution of contexts between animate/inanimate and male/female referents, very few object pronoun tokens have animate + male referents which is the context that most favors the use of *le(s)*. Hence, it is not necessarily the case that these speakers aren't employing *le(s)* in accusative contexts, but that they are not producing contexts that favor the use of *le(s)*.

Turing now to the students, it was predicted that at Time 1 they would produce very few object pronouns in general based on previous research that included participants at similar levels of proficiency (e.g. VanPatten 1990; Sanchez & Al-Kasey 1999; Zyzik 2006). This prediction was supported in the current study: the D.R. students produced object pronouns–both direct and indirect–at a rate of 2.9% whereas the Spain students produced them at a rate of 13.6%. Furthermore, only one D.R. student and five Spain

students produced object pronouns at all at Time 1 (see Table 88 in section 4.2.3). The Dominicans and Spaniards, in contrast, produced them at a rate of 73.9% and 66.6% respectively and all participants produced object pronouns. Instead of producing object pronouns, students tended to produce lexical NPs as shown above in Table 113; both student groups produced lexical NPs at a rate of around 83% even though the referent had been referred to earlier in the previous 10 clauses. These findings suggest that at this level, students appear to be in the beginning stages of acquiring a productive use of any third-person object pronouns in accusative contexts in oral speech. The second prediction was that students would produce *le(s)* in accusative contexts as found in previous research (Zyzik 2006). This was not found to be the case for most students. Indeed, no D.R. students ever produced a single instance of *le(s)* in an accusative context at Time 1 whereas only two Spain students produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts. Nevertheless, this is not entirely unexpected given the fact that students did not produce object pronouns frequently in general. This contrasts with the WCT in which all but two students selected *le* at least once in the task at Time 1 (see Table 66 in section 4.1.3.2). There are several possible reasons that may explain the differences found between tasks. First, in the WCT, the students only had two options–both of which were object pronouns whereas in the interview in which they produced lexical NPs and other forms in accusative contexts. Second, the WCT did not entail in-the-moment processing and allowed students more time to think about their selection.

At Time 2, it was hypothesized that the students would produce object pronouns at rates that were closer to the rates of the native speakers based on previous research examining object pronoun use by students studying abroad in Spain (Salgado-Robles

2011). As a group, this was the case for the D.R. students who increased their rate of production of *le* to a rate that more closely reflected the Dominican rate (see Table 113 above). However, this was due to three students only. In fact, at Time 2, only five D.R. students produced an object pronoun at all (see Table 88 in section 4.2.3). For the Spain students, this was not the case. As a group, the rate of *le(s)* in accusative contexts decreased between Time 1 and Time 2. Moreover, only two participants produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts (see Table 64 in section 4.1.3.2). However, these students did increase their rate of direct object pronouns in accusative contexts but the rates of use of object pronouns was still nearly 40 percentage points lower than the Spaniard rate. The persistent lack of use of object pronouns in general, as opposed to subject forms for which the students appeared to acquire rates that were similar to the native speakers from the region where they studied abroad, has been attested in previous research (e.g. Liceras, Maxwell, Laguardia, Fernández, Fernández & Díaz 1997; Sanchez & Al-Kasey 1999), may be due to a variety of reasons. First, it may be due to the complexity of the syntax and morphology of object pronouns in Spanish. For instance, the object pronoun often precedes the verb in Spanish whereas in English is follows the verb. In addition, English morphology does not distinguish between direct and indirect objects whereas Spanish does for third-person forms. Another possible reason why students do not acquire productive rates of object pronouns could be due to their lack of frequency in the input. Object forms are much less frequent than other forms in the input and even less when only including those in accusative contexts. Indeed, within the tokens included in the current study, the native speakers produced a total of 3,567 contexts with overt subjects but only 346 tokens with objects, or in other words, a little less than 10% of the amount of the overt subject tokens. So, not only

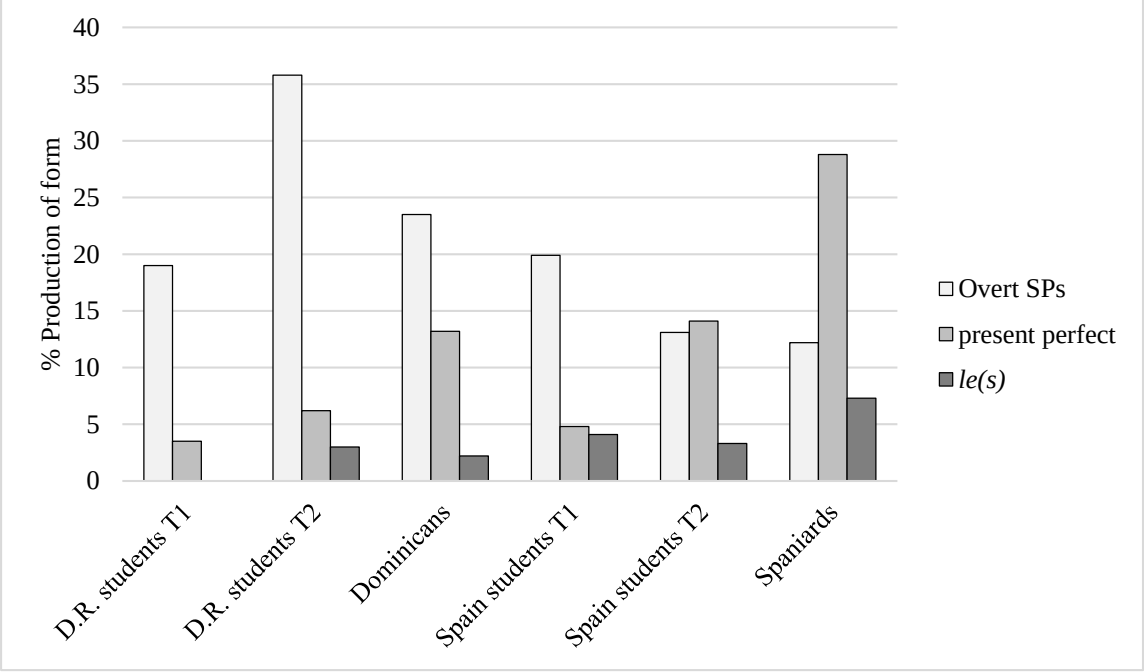
are object pronouns more complex in Spanish, but the contexts in which they appear tend occur much less frequently.

5.2.4 Summary of the discussion of rates of forms in the interview

To sum up the findings for the rates of production of the forms of the linguistic structures under investigation in the interview, it was found that as expected, the Dominicans produced higher rates of overt SPs than the Spaniards whereas the Spaniards produced higher rates of the present perfect and *le(s)* in the interview as displayed in Figure 44.

Figure 44

Rates of production of overt SPs, the present perfect and *le(s)* in the interview



Additionally, both groups produced overt SPs at lower rates than they selected them in WCT and produced the present perfect at higher rates than they were selected in the WCT. For the object pronouns, on the other hand, the Spaniards produced them at a lower rate than they selected them in the WCT whereas the Dominicans produced them at a

comparable rate to their selection. Regarding the rates of production of the forms under investigation by the students, it was found that unlike the rates of selection of the forms in the WCT, they did not tend to overgeneralize the production of overt SPs, the present perfect nor *le(s)*. In fact, the students showed target-like rates of subject pronouns (even more so at Time 2) and tended to show an "underuse" of the present perfect and *le(s)* at both Time 1 and Time 2. However, as predicted, after studying abroad, the D.R. students produced higher rates of overt SPs than the Spain students whereas the Spain students produced higher rates of the present perfect. However, neither group produced high rates of *le(s)* in accusative contexts at either Time 1 or Time 2 nor did the Spain students show higher rates of production of *le(s)* than the D.R. students. It was hypothesized that the reason the rates of the overt SPs were closer to the native rates than the rates of present perfect and the object pronouns might be due to inherent complexity and frequency in the input.

5.3 Discussion of results relating to research question three

The third and final research question asked what the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors constrained the selection of forms in the WCT and the rates of production of forms in the interview. As before, the findings for the constraining factors on subject forms in the WCT will first be discussed, followed by object forms, then the present perfect. These sections will be followed by discussions of the results of the oral interview data.

5.3.1 Discussion of results for constraining factors on subject pronoun variation in the WCT

For the variation of subject pronouns by native speakers in the WCT, it was predicted that selection of subject pronouns would be constrained by at least Continuity of

Reference and TMA based on previous research (e.g. Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Cameron 1994; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1994). This prediction was only partially supported as displayed in Table 114.

Table 114

Predictors of subject pronoun selection in the WCT for native speaker groups

	Person	ContRef	TMA
Dominicans	X***	X***	
Spaniards		X***	X*

The selection of subject pronouns in the WCT was significantly constrained by this Continuity of Reference for both native-speaker groups in the expected direction, namely, higher rates of overt SPs in contexts of switch reference than same reference. However, only the Spaniards' selection of pronouns was significantly constrained by TMA, namely, these speakers selected higher rates of the overt SPs with the imperfect items rather than the preterite as expected. The lack of significance for the TMA on the part of the Dominicans was unexpected based on previous research that found TMA to be a significant constraining factor on subject pronoun variation, even in a similarly designed WCT (Geeslin et al. 2015). Another unexpected finding was that Person was significant for the Dominicans but not the Spaniards. Indeed, these speakers selected overt SPs at a rate more than 30 percentage points higher with 3sg than 1sg. Previous research investigating this factor in another WCT found it to not be significant for the native speakers who participated in that study (Geeslin et al. 2015).

For the students, it was predicted that at Time 1, variation would be constrained by Continuity of Reference and possibly Person but not TMA based on previous research (Geeslin et al. 2015). This prediction was only partially supported as shown in Table 115.

Table 115

Predictors of subject pronoun selection in the WCT for student groups – Time 1

	Person	ContRef	TMA
D.R. students – T1			
Spain students –T1		X*	

First, neither group significantly varied between forms based on the TMA factor as predicted. Second, neither group varied significantly between forms based on Person which was also an expected possibility. Continuity of Reference, however, was significant for the Spain students and in the same direction as the native speakers, but it wasn't significant for the D.R. students. Hence, based on the results of the WCT, it would appear that the D.R. students are at a stage in which they are not sensitive to any of these factors whereas the Spain students are in the stage in which Continuity of reference is significant but the other factors are not (similar to the 5th semester students in the Geeslin et al. [2015]). The reason for the differences between groups at Time 1 may be at least in part attributable to differences in overall group proficiency. Indeed, as shown in the description of the participants in sections 3.2.1.1.1 and 3.2.1.1.2, Table 3 and Table 5, the D.R. students began the study abroad with an average score more than 10 percentage points lower than the Spain students on the proficiency test.

For Time 2, it was predicted that students would increase the number of factors that significantly constrained subject form selection and that those factors that were significant at Time 1 that were also found to be significant for the native speaker participants from the region where they studied abroad would be even more significant at Time 2 based on previous research on the acquisition of subject pronoun variation (Geeslin et al. 2015; Linford 2009). Neither of these predictions were true for either group in the WCT as displayed in Table 116.

Table 116

Predictors of subject pronoun selection in the WCT for student groups – Time 2

	Person	ContRef	TMA
D.R. students – T1			
Spain students –T1			X**

For the D.R. students, like Time 1, none of the factors were significant at Time 2. This is especially unexpected since the average on the grammar test increased 14 percentage points to an average that was higher than the Spain students at Time 1. The Spain students, on the other hand, no longer varied significantly between forms based on the Continuity of Reference factor but TMA. Previous research using a similar WCT proposed that students would first become sensitive to Person then TMA and that Continuity of Reference would continue to be significant at level of proficiency increased (Geeslin et al. 2015). However, not only is TMA significant when Person is not, but Continuity of Reference ceases to be significant for this group. Hence, neither group of students appear to be following the proposed path of acquisition of subject forms. In addition, neither group is clearly more like their native-speaker counterparts at Time 2 than they were at Time 1 based on sensitivity to the factors. However, out of the two groups, the results suggest that the Spain students were the most like the speakers from the region in which the studied abroad since based on the WCT, they appeared to be sensitive to one of the two factors that the Spaniards were sensitive to whereas the D.R. students as a group appeared to not be sensitive to either of the factors that the Dominicans were sensitive to.

5.3.2 Discussion of results for constraining factors on present perfect variation in the WCT

As concerns the constraints on the selection of the present perfect in the WCT by the native speakers, it was first predicted that the Dominicans and the Spaniards would vary between the present perfect and the preterite forms based on the Object Plurality factor

since previous research has found this to be the case for both Latin American and Peninsular dialects of Spanish (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres-Cacoullos 2008). This prediction was not supported since neither group varied their selection of the past tense forms based on this factor as shown in the following Table 117.

Table 117

Predictors of present perfect selection in the WCT for native speaker groups

	TempRef	ObjPlurality
Dominicans		
Spaniards	X***	

Hence, based on the WCT, these findings suggest that the role of Object Plurality in the use of the present perfect is not clear and may not be as important as previously expected an/or is only important in contexts that were not present in the limited contexts included in the study. Indeed, previous research claims that the presence of plural objects may favor the present perfect when expression durative or iterative meanings (e.g. Ocampo 2008:89; Howe & Schwenter 2008:106) such as *has adquirido tantos honores* ([You] have acquired so many honores) (taken from Ocampo 2008). However, in the WCT, none of the items that were accompanied by plural object that clearly expressed a durative or iterative meaning (see Appendix D, items 2, 18, 27; Appendix F, items 11, 22, 24). For instance, item 11 in version B reads, *nos ha enseñado las técnicas de escalar* ([she] has taught us climbing techniques) and as such does not clearly denote an iterative meaning.

The second prediction was that the Spaniards would vary their selection of the present perfect based on the Temporal Reference factor but the Dominicans would not. Specifically, it was expected that the Spaniards would select the highest rates of the present perfect with actions that occurred previously the same day, followed by actions that occurred the day before, and finally actions that occurred further in the past (Schwenter

1994) whereas the Dominicans were expected to select little to no present perfect in any of the categories of this variable. This hypothesis was only partially supported. The factor was found to be significant for the Spaniards and not for the Dominicans as expected (see Table 117 above), but the direction of the effect was not entirely as predicted for the Spaniards: Although these speakers selected the highest rates of the present perfect in the Today contexts, there was no clear difference between the rates of selection of the present perfect in yesterday contexts and before yesterday contexts with both showing low rates of the present perfect (see Table 86 in section 4.2.2.2.1). Hence, based on these results, the use of the present perfect to denote completed actions in the past not appear to be progressing further into the past for these speakers in contrast to what has been found in previous studies (e.g. Schwenter 1994). Furthermore, although previous research finds Temporal Reference to play a role in the Peninsular and Latin American dialects of Spanish (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres-Cacoullos 2008), the WCT did not include indeterminate and irrelevant contexts which are the main context in which the present perfect is used within previously-studied Latin American dialects.

As concerns the student groups, it was hypothesized that at Time 1, students would not vary between the preterite and the present perfect based on the Temporal Reference factor as found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012) and it was unclear whether or not Object Plurality would affect selection since it had never been tested in previous research in the WCT. As presented in Table 118 below, this prediction was supported for the D.R. students since neither factor significantly constrained their selection of the past tense forms at Time 1.

Table 118

Predictors of present perfect selection in the WCT for student groups – Time 1

	TempRef	ObjPlurality
D.R. students – T1		
Spain students –T1		X*

The Spain students' selection of the past tense forms in the WCT, on the other hand, was constrained by Object Plurality. Moreover, as found in previous research on native speakers (Howe & Schwenter 2008; Schwenter & Torres-Cacoullos 2008), these learners selected the present perfect the most with items that had plural objects (see Table 87 and Figure 27 in section 4.2.2.2.2). However, the rate of selection of the present perfect with items that had singular referents was also relatively high as well with the main differences being between those items that had an object versus those that did not.

At Time 2, it was predicted that the D.R. students would continue to not vary between past tense forms based on the Temporal Reference factor but possibly based on the Object Plurality factor if it was found to significantly constrain variation of the Dominicans. As shown below in Table 119, these predictions were supported since neither factor was significant at Time 2 just as found with the Dominicans.

Table 119

Predictors of present perfect selection in the WCT for student groups – Time 2

	TempRef	ObjPlurality
D.R. students – T1		
Spain students –T1	X***	X**

For the Spain students, it was predicted that at Time 2, they would select the present perfect based on the Temporal Reference factor similar to the Spaniards and what has been found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015). It was also predicted that they would possibly vary their selection based on the Object Plurality factor if the

Spaniards were found to significantly vary based on this factor. The first prediction for the Spain students was supported since their selection of the present perfect was significantly constrained by Temporal Reference. Similar to the Spaniards, these learners selected the highest rates of the present perfect with actions that occurred previously the same day and much less with actions that occurred yesterday or before yesterday (see Table 86 and Figure 26 in section 4.2.2.2.1). Hence, the findings of the current study further support the idea that learners acquire target-like sensitivity to the dialect-specific use of the present perfect after a study abroad. However, when looking at the specific rates of selection of the present perfect within the categories of this factor, the students appear to overgeneralize the use of the present perfect greatly in today and somewhat in before yesterday contexts. The Spain students selected the present perfect at a rate nearly 20 percentage points higher than the Spaniards (68.2%) in today contexts and selected the present perfect at a rate approaching 10 percentage points higher for the before yesterday contexts. This contrasts with previous research such as Geeslin et al. (2012) whose students selected the present perfect at an equal or lower rate in today contexts than the Spaniards in their study and found that the overuse of the present perfect was most prevalent in the last week and a year or longer contexts. Furthermore, at Time 2, the Spain students varied their selection of the present perfect based on the Object Plurality factor which was unexpected since neither native speaker group varied their selection based on this factor. Just as at Time 1, this group selected more present perfect in contexts that included an object rather than those without one. Within those contexts that included an object, they selected the highest rates with plural objects as has been found in previous research on native speakers (e.g. Howe & Schwenter 2008). It may be that the Spain students as a group are interpreting the use of

the plural object as either durative or iterative, but again, the clearest differences in rates of selection of the present perfect are between items with an object and those without one, not between verbs with plural and singular object as would have been predicted based on previous research. Hence, further research is needed in order to determine if this is in fact the case.

5.3.3 Discussion of results for constraining factors on object pronoun variation in the WCT

Concerning constraints on object pronoun variation in the WCT, it was posited that based on previous research (e.g. De Mello 2002), the Dominicans would select *le* in the WCT little to never and as such, not factors would constrain object pronoun variation. This was supported in the current study: no factors significantly constrained object pronoun selection in the WCT for the Dominicans as shown in Table 120.

Table 120

Predictors of object pronoun selection in the WCT by the native speaker groups

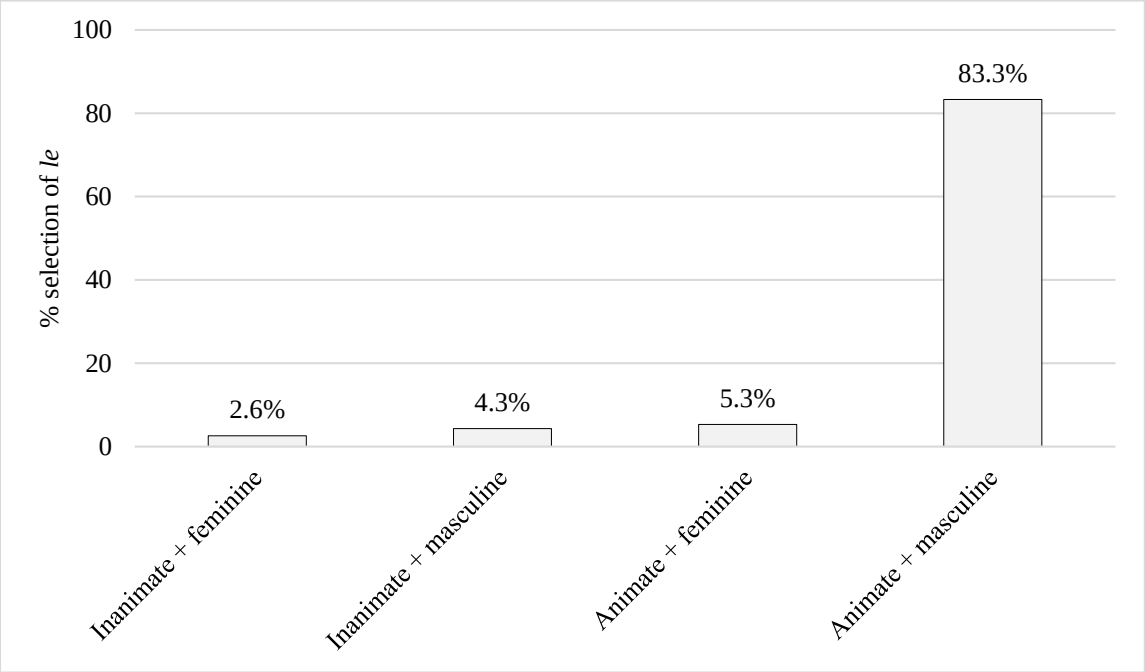
	Gender	Animacy	Telicity
Dominicans			
Spaniards	X**	X***	

For the Spaniards, on the other hand, it was expected that variable selection of object pronouns in the WCT would be constrained by all three manipulated factors, namely, Gender, Animacy and Telicity as found in previous research (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque & Lamiroy 1996; Flores-Cervantes 2002; Geeslin et al. 2010; García & Otheguy 1977). This was partially supported since both Gender and Animacy were significant for the Spaniards but not Telicity. These speakers selected *le* nearly 50% of the time with animate referents and almost 45% of the time with masculine referents (see Table 94 and Figure 31 in section 4.2.3.2.1; Table 95 and Figure 32 in section 4.2.3.2.2). Indeed, among

those items that were masculine and animate, Spaniards selected *le* at a rate of 83.3% as displayed below in Figure 45.

Figure 45

Rates of *le* selected by Spaniards by Animacy + Gender



These results suggest that these speakers are employing *leísmo* in a standard manner as discussed in previous research (e.g. Klein-Andreu 2000). However, in contrast to previous research (Geeslin et al. 2010), the factor Telicity was not significant for the Spaniards. One possible reason for this may have been that the importance of the other two factors overshadowed the effect of Telicity. In fact, almost all animate + masculine object referents were referred to with *le* whereas almost no inanimate or feminine object referents were referred to with *le* (see Figure 45 above). However, upon further analysis of the items that were neither masculine nor animate for which at least one speaker selected *le*, three of the four were atelic. Thus, Telicity may play a role here but its effect in the included contexts may be much less important than the other manipulated factors and/or is only

important within certain contexts that already favor the use of *le* (i.e. masculine + animate contexts).

For the students, it was predicted that students' selection of object pronoun variation at Time 1 would be constrained by Animacy and Telicity based on what has been found in previous research (Zyzik 2006; Geeslin et al. 2010). This prediction was also only partially supported since only Animacy was significant at Time 1 for both groups as shown below in Table 121.

Table 121

Predictors of object pronoun selection in the WCT by the student groups – Time 1

	Gender	Animacy	Telicity
D.R. students – T1		X**	
Spain students –T1		X**	

Both groups of students selected higher rates of *le* with animate referents than inanimate ones (see Table 95 and Figure 32 in section 4.2.3.2.2). This finding provides further evidence that learners begin their acquisition of object pronouns by associating *le* with animate objects (Zyzik 2006). Moreover, given the likely exposure to a variety of dialects before studying abroad, this finding supports Zyzik's theory that students' use of *le* in accusative contexts is an acquisitional stage that learners pass through instead of the result of exposure to a *leísta* dialect. In other words, students employ Type I variation in which they vary between direct and indirect object pronouns in a systematic but not necessarily target-like manner.

At Time 2, it was expected that the D.R. students' variation between object pronouns in the WCT would be constrained by less factors and/or the factors would become weaker given that Dominicans were not expected to vary between objects based on any factors. This is what was found in the current study: at Time 2, variation in the WCT by

the D.R. students was not significantly constrained by any of the manipulated factors as displayed below in Table 122.

Table 122

Predictors of object pronoun selection in the WCT by the student groups – Time 2

	Gender	Animacy	Telicity
D.R. students – T2			
Spain students –T2		X***	

This finding suggests that in general, learners appear to be able to move beyond the stage in which they associate *le* with animate referents in accusative contexts. This was not entirely expected since Zyzik (2006) found that the overgeneralization of *le* in accusative contexts persisted even among the advanced students included in her study. Indeed, the overgeneralization of *le* with animate referents was most frequent among the most advanced speakers in her study. However, her tasks involved oral production whereas the WCT is not oral. It may be that had the students completed the oral tasks in her study, they would still employ *le* for animate referents even though on an un-timed written task Animacy is no longer important. For the Spain students, on the other hand, the opposite was expected. Specifically, it was expected that the factors constraining object pronoun variation would either become stronger and/or more factors would constrain object variation. This was partially supported since the Animacy factor, which was significant at Time 1, increased in significance between Time 1 and Time 2. However, neither Telicity nor Gender was significant for these speakers at Time 2. Hence, the Spain students are more like the Spaniards but only with regard to Animacy. This contrasts with previous research on students studying abroad in *leísta* regions of Spain who find Telicity is a significant predictor of object variation among students who study abroad (Geeslin et al. 2010; Salgado-Robles 2011). Again, this may be due in part to the nature of the tasks that

in some way limited and/or was not a good measure of the effects of Telicity. However, without access to the specific contexts included in the previous studies, it is unclear what all the differences between tasks are that may have led to this discrepancy. Nevertheless, given that Telicity was not significant for the Spaniards either in the WCT included in the current study, not having Telicity significantly affect object pronoun selection is more like the Spaniard group than otherwise on this task. The finding that Gender was not significant at Time 2 is in line with Geeslin et al. (2010) but contrasts with Salgado-Robles (2011). This finding suggests that as students develop variation between indirect and direct object pronouns in accusative contexts, sensitivity to Animacy precedes Gender for those students that are exposed to *leísta* dialects. Importantly, however, is the fact that learners in either group appear to be following diverging paths based on the dialect to which they are exposed. In the case of the D.R. students, *le* is no longer constrained by any factors at Time 2 whereas for the Spain students, Animacy continues to constrain their selection and becomes stronger at Time 2 suggesting that exposure to dialect-specific variation mediates its acquisition. If the persistence of Animacy constraining object pronoun variation for the Spain students after studying abroad were simply due to a stage Type I stage of variation that all learners pass through at a given level of proficiency, then it would not make sense why the D.R. students no longer associated *le* with animate referents in the WCT even though they were found to have a lower level of proficiency overall.

5.3.4 Discussion of results for constraining factors on subject pronoun variation in the interview

We now turn to the results of the constraining factors for the linguistic structures in the interview. We begin with a discussion of the factors constraining subject variation,

followed by past tense form variation and finally, object pronoun variation in accusative contexts.

The results of the current study partially confirm what was predicted for the variation between null subjects and overt SPs for the native speakers. That is to say, that although the rates of use of the subject forms would be different between groups, the factors constraining variation would be the same as found in previous research (Cameron 1995). In the current study, variation between null subjects and overt SPs for the Dominicans and the Spaniards was constrained by Person/Number, Switch reference, Perseveration, and TMA as displayed in Table 123 and always in the same direction as each other and as found in previous research.

Table 123

Predictors of subject pronoun use in the interview for the native speaker groups

	P/N	Clause	ContRef	Persev	TMAcont	TMA
Dominicans	X***	X***	X***	X*		X***
Spaniards	X***		X*	X**		X**

For example, regarding Person/Number, it was found that for both groups, overt SPs were most frequent with 3sg, followed by 1sg, then 3pl and finally 1pl (see Table 70 and Figure 13 in section 4.2.1.2.1). The findings that the singular persons were associated with higher rates of overt SPs was expected given previous research on native speakers has found the pattern (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1982; Cameron 1992; Hochberg 1986; Enríquez 1984). Furthermore, the finding that 3sg singular was associated with higher rates of overt SPs than 1sg is also what was found in the WCT for the Dominicans. Regarding Continuity of Reference, speakers from both groups produced higher rates of overt SPs in contexts of switch reference rather than contexts of same reference (see Table 72 and

Figure 15 in section 4.2.1.2.3) which is in line with previous research (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Cameron 1994, 1995; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Shin & Otheguy 2009; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010) and also what was found in the WCT. Perseveration also patterned similarly between the native speaker groups in that they produced the highest rates of overt SPs when preceded by overt SPs and the highest null subject when preceded by null subjects (see Table 73 and Figure 16 of section 4.2.1.2.3) which in line with previous research (Cameron 1994; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Flores-Ferrán 2004; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010; Travis 2007). Finally, regarding TMA, both groups produced the highest rates of overt SPs with the imperfect verb forms and the lowest rates of overt SPs with preterite verb forms (see Table 74 and Figure 17 in section 4.2.1.2.5) also in line with previous research (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Cameron 1994; Erker 2005; Hochberg 1986; Holmquist 2012; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Torres-Cacoullos & Travis 2010) and what was found for the Spaniards in the WCT.

The only difference between the groups regarding constraining factors was found with Clause Type which was significant for the Dominicans but not for the Spaniards. As displayed in Table 71 and Figure 14 (section 4.2.1.2.2), Dominicans produced the lowest rate of overt SPs in coordinate clauses similar to previous research (Morales 1997; Otheguy et al. 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). In addition, object-relative clauses were also found with some of the highest rates of overt SPs as also has been found in previous research (Morales 1997). Furthermore, the fact that this factor was not significant for the Spaniards is not entirely surprising given that several studies have found no effect of Clause Type on subject pronoun variation (Carvalho & Child 2011; Torres Cacoullos & Travis

2010; Travis 2007; Silva-Corvalán 1994). However, like the results for the WCT, the finding that this factor was significant for one group and not the other as well as given the differences in significant factors in the WCT suggests that it may not be the case that all factors are important in all dialects as has been previously assumed (Cameron 1994, 1995).

For the students, it was first predicted that students' variation with subject pronouns would be constrained by minimally Continuity of Reference, Person/Number and possibly TMA based on the findings of previous research (see Geeslin et al. 2015). This finding was supported for the Spain students but not for the D.R. students as shown in the following Table 124.

Table 124

Predictors of subject pronoun use in the interview for the student groups – Time 1

	P/N	Clause	ContRef	Persev	TMAcont	TMA
D.R.S. – T1	X***	X*			X**	X*
Spain S. – T1	X*		X*	X***		X*

Although Person/Number and TMA was significant for both groups, Continuity of Reference was only significant for the Spain students. This difference is similar to what was found in the WCT in which Continuity of Reference was significant for the Spain students but not the D.R. students. In addition, TMA continuity and Clause Type were significant for the D.R. students but not the Spain students and Perseveration was significant for the Spain students but not the D.R. students. These differences may be attributable to different levels in the learners' proficiency even at Time 1. Indeed, as suggested previously, this may be at least in part due to a difference in proficiency between groups. Although it was only marginally significant [F = 1.091, df = 20, p = .085], the average score on the proficiency test was 11% lower for the D.R. students (M = 50.4%) at Time 1 than the Spain students (M = 60.9%). In addition to these differences, it was not

always the case that the factors that the student groups had in common with each other and/or the native speaker groups always had identical distributions of rates across categories. This finding is displayed in the following Table 125 in which displays whether or not the direction of the effect was identical across categories of the factors (yes) from the native-speaker groups or if there were differences (no).

Table 125

Comparison between the direction of the effect for the significant factors for the student groups at Time 1

	Direction identical to native speakers?	
Factors	D.R. students	Spain students
Person/Number	no	no
Clause Type	no	*n/a*
Continuity of Reference	*n/a*	yes
Perseveration	*n/a*	yes
TMA Continuity	*n/a*	*n/a*
TMA	no	no

For instance, within the Person/Number variable, the D.R. students had high rates of overt SPs with 3pl referent which was not the case for the native speakers. This finding suggests that not only must students acquire sensitivity to factors constraining variation, but must acquire target-like rates in general and within the categories of the significant factors.

For Time 2, there were three predictions made. First, it was predicted that an increased number of factors would constrain subject variation for the students at Time 2 than at Time 1 since this is was has tended to occur in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2015; Linford 2009; Linford et al. 2013). This prediction was supported since both groups began with four significant constraining factors at Time 1 but at Time 2, they each had five significant factors constraining subject pronoun variation.

Table 126

Predictors of subject pronoun variation in the interview for the student groups Time 2

	P/N	Clause	ContRef	Persev	TMAcont	TMA
D.R.S. – T2	X***	X***	X***	X***		X*
Spain S. – T2	X***		X*	X***	X**	X*

However, similar to the results for the WCT and the interview at Time 1, some of the significant factors for the Spain students were different from the significant factors for the D.R. students. For example, at Time 2, both groups variation was constrained by Person/Number, Continuity of Reference, Perseveration, and TMA just like both native speaker groups but TMA continuity was only significant for the Spain students at Time 2 and Clause Type was only significant for the D.R. students at Time 2. In addition, similar to Time 1, in some cases the rates of overt SPs within categories of significant factors differed between the student groups and the native speaker groups as shown in Table 127.

Table 127

Comparison between the direction of the effect for the significant factors for the student groups at Time 2

	Direction identical to native speakers?	
Factors	D.R. students	Spain students
Person/Number	no	no
Clause Type	no	*n/a*
Continuity of Reference	yes	yes
Perseveration	no	yes
TMA Continuity	*n/a*	*n/a*
TMA	no	no

For instance, both groups produced the highest rates of overt SPs with 3sg referents and more with singular than plural overall like the native speakers, but the D.R. students also produced high rates of overt SPs with 3pl whereas the Spain students did not. In addition, rates of overt SPs within categories of TMA were different between the student groups as well as between the student groups and native speaker group (see Table 74 and Figure 17

in section 4.2.1.2.5), rates of overt SPs in the categories were different between groups suggesting again that the learners are still acquiring full target-like sensitivity to these factors even though they appear to have acquired a certain level of sensitivity.

The second prediction was that the significant factors for the students at Time 2 would be more native-like regarding strength of significance as well as direction of the effect. This was partially supported for both groups. For instance, the D.R. students only had three factors in common with the Dominicans whereas at Time 2, they shared the same five significant factors. In addition, Clause Type became stronger statistically and TMA Continuity, which was not significant for the Dominicans, became weaker. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, the directions of the effects were not always similar to the Dominicans for this group. Although Clause Type, Continuity of Reference and Perseveration show similar effects between the D.R. students and the Dominicans, Person/Number and TMA show clear differences between groups. For instance, the D.R. students employed much higher rates of overt SPs for the 3pl than the native speakers and did not employ the lowest rates of overt SPs with the preterite forms nor the highest rates of overt SPs with the imperfect forms. Indeed, regarding TMA, the student appear less like the Dominicans at Time 2 than they did at Time 1 since they increased their use of overt SPs in every category of this factor, especially in contexts for which they previously had low rates of overt SPs. Hence, the overuse of overt SPs appears to have carried over into the way in which at least some the factors affect their use of overt SPs. For the Spain students, the prediction was also only partially supported. The Person/Number factor increased in significance to more closely reflect its significance within the Spaniard group and the distribution of overt SPs across categories of Continuity of Reference and

Perseveration appear more like the Spaniards at Time 2. However, there remained differences between these Spain students and the Spaniards as well. For example, TMA continuity was significant at Time 2 for the Spain students but never for the Spaniards. In addition, many factors did not show much change regarding significance between Time 1 and Time 2. For instance, Continuity of Reference, Perseveration and TMA all did not show much change in significance between times similar to the lack of much development found in Lopez-Ortega (2003). Furthermore, like the D.R. students in comparison to the Dominicans, it was not clear that the rates within the categories of Person/Number nor TMA were more similar to the Spaniards at Time 2. Taken together, these findings suggest that even increased exposure to native speakers' variation of overt SPs and increased proficiency in the L2 does not always mean that students will become more like the native speakers in their variation between forms in all cases.

Finally, it was predicted that in the event that the native speaker groups diverged regarding constraining factors, the students would more closely reflect the factors constraining of the native speakers from their respective study abroad regions. In other words, the D.R. students would be more similar to the Dominicans and the Spain students would become more similar to the Spaniards regarding significant factors. This prediction was not supported based on the interview data. First, there were few differences regarding significant constraints on subject pronoun variation between native-speaker groups. However, Clause Type, which was significant for the Dominicans but not he Spaniards, was significant for the D.R. students at Time 2 but not for the Spain students. Nevertheless, this factor was already significant for the D.R. students at Time 1 and was not significant in a Dominican-like direction so it is unclear the role that exposure to the dialect played

regarding this factor. In addition, the Spain students had more in common with the Spaniards regarding significant factors at Time 1 than Time 2. Thus, the results for the oral production of subject forms in the current study do not provide strong evidence that exposure to a dialect leads to diverging paths between student groups with this structure.

5.3.5 Discussion of results for constraining factors on present perfect variation in the interview

For the native speakers, it was predicted that variation between the present perfect and the preterite forms by the Dominicans and Spaniards would be constrained by Temporal Reference, Object Plurality and possibly Temporal Adverbials as found in previous research (Geeslin et al. 2012; Howe & Schwenter 2008 [but not for Temporal Adverbiales]; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). In addition, it was predicted that the Dominicans may also vary between forms based on Clause Type and Aktionsart since this is what was found in another Latin American dialect (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). These predictions, like many before them, were partially supported as displayed in Table 128.

Table 128

Predictors of present perfect use in the interview for the native speaker groups

	TempRef	TempAdv	Aktionsart	Polarity	ObjNum	Clause
Dominicans	X***					X**
Spaniards	X***		X*			X**

For the Dominicans, variation was constrained by Temporal Reference and Clause Type and in the expected direction: Dominicans employed the present perfect more often in relative and/or yes/no questions (see Table 84 and Figure 25 in section 4.2.2.1.1.4) as has been found in previous research (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008) and more often in irrelevant or indeterminate contexts within the Temporal Reference factor (see Table 81

and Figure 22 in section 4.2.2.1.1.2). However, Temporal Adverbials, Object Plurality, and Aktionsart were not significant for this group. For the Spaniards, Temporal Reference was significant and in the same direction as the Dominicans with one exception: like previous research, these speakers produced the present perfect in today contexts in addition to indeterminate and irrelevant contexts (Howe & Schwenter 2003; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008). Variation was also constrained by Clause Type and Aktionsart for the Spaniards, two factors that were predicted to constrain Dominican variation but not that of the Spaniards. Moreover, and also like the Dominicans, variation was not significantly constrained by Temporal Adverbials and Object Plurality. The reason for the differences between the current study and those of previous research may be due to differences in data elicitation methods and/or the dialects under investigation, but a more in depth examination would need to be carried out to determine this theory.

For the students, it was predicted that at Time 1 their production of the present perfect would be constrained by minimally Temporal Reference since this factor would potentially constrain the present perfect in English. This finding was supported given that for both groups, variation between the present perfect and preterite/other forms was constrained by Temporal Reference as shown in Table 129.

Table 129

Predictors of present perfect use in the interview for the student groups – Time 1

	TempRef	TempAd	Aktionsart	Polarity	ObjNum	Clause
D.R.S. – T1	X***					
Spain S. – T1	X***					

Both groups produced the highest rates of the present perfect in irrelevant contexts and rarely produced them in contexts of today and before today as expected (see Table 81 and Figure 22 in section 4.2.2.1.1.1). The Spain students, however, also produced the

present perfect at a rate more than 25% in indeterminate contexts. No other factors constrained the variation between the present perfect and the preterite at Time 1 suggesting that the students began the study abroad different than the native speakers regarding significant constraints with clear areas in which the students could develop. Indeed, this lack of sensitivity to other factors beyond Temporal Reference coincides with the finding that students produced the present perfect at rates that were much lower than the native speakers suggesting that they are still acquiring the use of the present perfect in general.

At Time 2, it was first predicted that the number constraints on the production of the present perfect as well as the strength of the constraints would increase for both groups. This is partially supported for the D.R. students; at Time 2, their production of the present perfect continued to be constrained by Temporal Reference (see Table 130) and in a similar way as Time 1 (see Table 81 and Figure 22 in section 4.2.2.1.1.1).

Table 130

Predictors of present perfect use in the interview for the student groups – Time 2

	TempRef	TempAd	Aktionsart	Polarity	ObjNum	Clause
D.R.S. – T2	X***	X***				
Spain S. – T2	X***					

However, the strength of the factor did not increase between Time 1 and Time 2 nor did the distribution of forms within the categories of this factor show great changes between Time 1 and Time 2. In addition to Temporal Reference, their use of the present perfect was also constrained the factor Temporal Adverbials. These speakers produced the present perfect more often in contexts with were accompanied by temporal adverbials that denoted frequency and proximity (see Table 82 and Figure 23 in section 4.2.2.1.1.2) as found in previous research on native speakers (Ocampo 2008; Rodriguez Louro 2010; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008).

For the Spain students, the only factor that is significant for Time 2 is again Temporal Reference. However, there are some difference between Time 1 and Time 2 regarding this factor. First, as predicted, it is more significant at Time 2. Second, the distribution of forms changes slightly. As predicted, these students use the present perfect in today contexts more than the D.R. students (see Table 82 and Figure 23 in section 4.2.2.1.1.2). Indeed, their distribution of forms within the categories of this factor mirrors the distribution of the Spaniards with the main difference being that the Spain students employ the present perfect less than the Spaniards in every category. Thus, although they are becoming more like the native speakers from Spain regarding the use of the present perfect, they still appear to overgeneralize the use of the preterite as compared to the Spaniards within every category of this factor. In previous research and in the WCT, it was found that after studying abroad, students appeared to overgeneralize the use of the present perfect in most categories as opposed to the preterite (Geeslin et al. 2012). However, in oral speech, the opposite trend appears to be true as student develop the use of the present perfect.

5.3.6 Discussion of results for constraining factors on object pronoun variation in the interview

In this section, the constraining factors on object pronoun variation in the interview are discussed. As a reminder, only pronominal object forms (i.e. *le(s)*; *lo(s)/la(s)*) were included in this portion of the analysis since the goal of the current study was to observe variation between these forms, not between these forms and other forms such as lexical NPs. For the native speakers, it was predicted that, based on assumptions drawn from previous research (e.g. De Mello 2002), the Dominicans would not produce *le(s)* in the

accusative contexts included in the current study and as such, no factors would constrain variation between forms. However, as shown in the subsequent Table 131, the results of chi-square tests showed that there was in fact one significant factor for the Dominicans regarding their variation between object pronouns: Animacy.

Table 131

Significant factors constraining object pronoun use in the interview for the native speaker groups

	Gender	Animacy	Number	Countability	SubjAn
Dominicans		X*			
Spaniards	X**	X*	X*		

Hence, not only did some of the Dominicans unexpectedly produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts, but they did so based on the Animacy factor. The speakers who produced *le(s)* only did so with referents that were animate. This is similar to what has been found in previous research for peninsular speakers of Spanish (e.g. Klein-Andreu 2000) but has never been attested for Latin American speakers of Spanish within the limited contexts included in the current study. Although García & Otheguy (1977) found that the Caribbean (Cuban) participants included in their study employed *le(s)* in supposed accusative contexts in their written task and was constrained by some of the same factors that have been shown to constrain object pronoun variation by speakers of peninsular Spanish such as referent gender, this study, as stated previously, included contexts which the authors assumed were accusative but which more recent studies have claimed may not be so (De Mello 2002). However, although this factor was found to be significant for the Dominicans, similar to the WCT, very few speakers (three in total) ever produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts so more research would need to be done to see if more Dominican speakers employ *le(s)* in accusative contexts.

For the Spaniards, on the other hand, it was predicted that variation would be constrained by all the factors included in the study: Gender, Animacy, Number, Countability and Subject Animacy given the findings in previous research (Cortéz Rodríguez 1992; Delbeque & Lamiroy 1996; Klein-Andreu 2000; García & Otheguy 1977). However, only three of the five included factors were significant for the Spaniards: Gender, Animacy and Number. The distribution of forms within the categories of gender and animacy were in the expected direction based on previous research (Klein-Andreu 2000; García & Otheguy 1977): the speakers in the current study only ever produced *le(s)* in contexts with referents that were masculine and animate. Regarding number, however, it was found that speakers did not produce higher rates of *le(s)* with singular referents as has been found in some of the previous research (Klein-Andreu 2000). Similar to what was found in Delbeque and Lamiroy (1996), these speakers produced higher rates of *le(s)* with plural referents rather than singular ones. Moreover, Klein-Andreu (2000) observes that for speakers from Valladolid, although for animate referents there appears to rates of *le(s)* among singular and plural referents, the use of *le(s)* in accusative contexts is more common with plural referents than singular with inanimate referents. Klein-Andreu (2000a, 2000b) claims that the reason for the difference in number among the speakers of Valladolid is due to the Countability of the referents, but this is only true for inanimate referents for which no speaker in the current study ever used *le(s)*. Nevertheless, only three speakers ever produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts for a total of 9 *le(s)* tokens so these findings would need to be verified by additional research.

For the student groups, it was predicted that they would begin the study abroad by potentially varying between object pronouns based on Animacy since L2 learners have

been shown to do so in previous research (Zyzik 2006). This was supported for the Spain students since this was the only significant factor for this group but not for the D.R. students who never produced *le(s)* in the included accusative contexts as shown below in Table 132.

Table 132

Significant factors constraining object pronoun use in the interview for the student groups – Time 1

	Gender	Animacy	Number	Countability	SubjAn
D.R.S. – T1					
Spain S. – T1		X*			

Thus, the results for the Spain students reflect what was found in the WCT: Students associate *le(s)* with animate referents (see Table 90 in section 4.2.3.1.1). Indeed, all of the instances of *le(s)* produced by the Spain students were with animate referents. Although this was not found for the D.R. students, only one student produced one object pronoun in the included contexts at Time 1 again suggesting that these speakers have not yet acquired a productive ability to produce object pronouns in general.

At Time 2, it was predicted that if factors constrained variation for the D.R. students at Time 1, they would decrease in significance. As with Time 1, no factors constrained variation between object pronouns for this group (see Table 133) and as such, this prediction was neither supported nor rejected.

Table 133

Significant factors constraining object pronoun use in the interview for the student groups – Time 1

	Gender	Animacy	Number	Countability	SubjAn
D.R.S. – T1					
Spain S. – T1					

For the Spain students, it was hypothesized that Animacy would increase in significance and that additional factors would constrain variation at Time 2. Neither of these predictions were supported since Animacy was no longer significant at Time 2 and no other factors became significant at Time 2. This finding may be in part due to the fact that these students, like the D.R. students, continued to employ relatively few object pronouns in general in comparison to the native speakers and as such made it difficult for a statistical test to determine what factors significantly constrained variation. This finding contrasts with previous that found students with similar levels of proficiency in Spanish produced *le(s)* in accusative contexts based on a variety of factors after studying abroad in a region in which *leísmo* occurs, namely, Valladolid (Salgado-Robles 2011). However, that study was based on interviews that were substantially longer (1-2 hours each) and from students exposed to a dialect of Spanish which has been shown to be the most innovative regarding *leísmo* (Klein-Andreu 2000a, 2000b). Moreover, similar to Geeslin at al. (2010), these speakers never varied between direct and indirect object pronouns based on gender. However, based on the current findings of the interview at Time 1 and the WCT, it appears that students vary between direct and indirect objects in accusative contexts based on the animacy before all other factors.

5.4 Extra-linguistic factors

In this section, the results for the correlations between the rates of selection/production of the linguistic forms under investigation by the students and the extra-linguistic factors are discussed. First, it is important to point out that although extra-linguistic factors are considered an important component relating to the development of sociolinguistic competence in general (e.g. Mougeon, Rehner & Nadasdi 2004), very few

significant correlations were found in the current study suggesting, at least in part, that they do not affect rates of use/selection of variable forms. For instance, although contact has been found to affect the acquisition of variation in an L2 (e.g. Nagy, Blondeau & Auger 2003; Regan 1995, 1996), based on the self-reports of the students' contact during the study abroad, contact did not have any significant correlation with the rates of selection/production of overt SPs, *le(s)* nor the present perfect. However, this is not to say that they don't affect acquisition in some other way or that they wouldn't show significant correlations had more participants been included. Regardless of the reason for the lack of significance on many extra-linguistic factors, those factors that were found to be significant are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

It was predicted that at Time 1, learner proficiency would possibly be related to the rates of use of the structures since this has been found in previous research at least with regard to subject pronoun variation (Geeslin et al. 2015; Linford 2009; Pérez-Leroux & Glass 1999). Although this result was not found for most of the factors, it was found that the rates of production of the present perfect by the D.R. students in the interview significantly correlated with self-reported proficiency in Spanish. The higher the self-reported proficiency, the higher the rates of the present perfect in the interview (see Figure 33 in section 4.2.1.5.1). This finding suggests that with increased proficiency in Spanish, learners employ higher rates of the present perfect when speaking which is more target-like since native speakers from both regions were shown to produce higher rates of the present perfect than the learners. Indeed, both student groups as a whole improved on the grammar test and increased their use of the present perfect between Time 1 and Time 2 which also supports this finding. The only other factor that was found to significantly

correlate with the rates of any structure was the Spain students' self-reported contact with Spanish before study abroad and their rates of selection of the present perfect in the WCT. It was found that the higher the contact before studying abroad, the higher the rate of selection of the present perfect in the WCT (see Table 101 and Figure 36 in section 4.2.1.5.1). This result is somewhat unexpected since only Spaniards tended to select the present perfect in the WCT whereas the Dominicans rarely selected them in the task and as such the selection of the present perfect is not universally native-like. It may be that the speakers who had more contact before studying abroad had contact with native peninsular speakers of Spanish, but there is no information in the current study to confirm this hypothesis. However, contact during study abroad did not show and significant relation to rates of the present perfect which would bring into question this theory.

Other than these two factors, four factors−two for each group−approached a significant correlation with rates of forms. For the D.R. students, Pre-University years of study correlated negatively with the rates of present perfect selected in the WCT (see section 4.2.1.5.1 for tables and figures of these correlations). Hence, the learners with more years of pre-university study tended to be more like the Dominicans since they selected less present perfect in the WCT. In addition, highest level of university study correlated positively with rates of overt SP selection for the D.R. students. For the Spain students, Pre-University years of study correlated positively with rates of overt SPs produced in the interview. Based on these two findings, the study suggests that the more time the students have spent studying Spanish, the more likely they were to produce overt SPs suggesting that the students are in the stage of acquisition in which they increase their use of overt SPs as they progress as suggested by Geeslin et al. (2015). Finally, the Spain students' selection

of *le* in the WCT negatively correlated with Time 1 grammar test scores which would be expected since the selection of *le* in the WCT would go against what is taught in the language classroom and most textbooks.

At Time 2, it was predicted that rates would relate not only to learner proficiency, but possibly other differences between learners such as contact with the target language and students' attitudes toward the language, country and people of the region in which the studied abroad. For the D.R. students, none of the factors significantly correlated with any of the rates of the linguistic structures on any task and as such, failed to confirm the prediction. However, two factors approached a significant correlation with the rates: The Time 2 grammar test scores approached a significant negative correlation with the rates of selection of *le* in the WCT suggesting that after studying abroad, the more proficient the student, the closer their rates of selection were to the low Dominican rate of selection. In other words, the more proficient they were, the more their use of this structure was similar to the Dominicans as one might expect. A similar finding was discovered for the students' Attitude scores: The higher the score, the less *le* was selected in the WCT suggesting that the better the attitude the students had toward the native speakers, the more they were able to employ *le* in a target-like way.

As far as the Spain students, this prediction was partially supported because one factor was found to significantly correlate with rates of selection of forms: the Spain students' selection of *le* was found to have a positive correlation with the students' Attitude scores. In other words, the better attitude the learners had toward the dialect, people and culture of Spain, the more they tended to select *le* in the task. Unlike the D.R. students who decreased their rate of selection of *le* and as such became more target-like the better their

attitude was, for these learners, it was the case that the better the attitude, the more they tended to overgeneralize the dialectal form. It may be that these learners believe that using *le* in any accusative context is more native-like and since their attitude is so positive about the culture, people and dialect, they may assume that using them in these contexts will make them sound more "Spanish" as they may desire. In other words, learners with better attitudes are possibly adopting a Peninsular Spanish identity in the L2 and as such as selecting *le* more frequently to portray this identity whereas those that selected *le* less frequently are showing resistance to adopt the Peninsular identity (George 2014). However, in addition to this factor, attitude also approached a significant positive correlation with the production of overt SPs in the interview. In this case as well, the apparent effect of leaner attitude produced an outcome that was less target-like since the Spaniards produced rates of overt SPs that were lower than the Spain students. This significant correlation between the Attitude scores and these structures suggests that learner attitudes, which have been found to be an important component of second language acquisition (e.g. Dörnyei 2003), may affect the way in which learners acquire variable structures. However, these findings leave us with several unanswered questions. First, why is it that the better the attitude, the less target-like the Spain students were with regard to both of these structures? One would expect that a better attitude would lead to positive gains with regard to the development of linguistic abilities in the second language. On the other hand, it may be that as students acquire the dialectal uses of these structures, they all must pass through a stage in which they overgeneralize the use of a given form and the students' with better learner attitudes are passing through this stage sooner than those that do not have as good of an attitude. Nevertheless, this would only make sense based on the results for *le* and not the subject

pronouns. Second, why do the students' Attitude scores only have significant correlations in these two cases? Could it be that *le* is perceived more as a dialect marker of Peninsular Spanish than the use of the present perfect and as such will depend on individual affective factors than would the present perfect? Future research would benefit from employing perception tasks to determine if L2 learners perceive the use of *le* in accusative contexts and/or the use of the present perfect to express completed actions occurring previously the same day as dialect-specific features of Spaniards. Finally, in the current study, Attitude scores were derived from a combination of responses to a variety of questions in the background questionnaires. Hence, it is unclear if the individual questions eliciting the students' attitudes would show the same direction of the effect. A follow-up study examining the potential correlations between the individual items on the background questionnaires as well as conducting a factor analysis to determine if the responses to the individual attitude items correlate with each other. It may be that specific groups would show a greater positive correlation to the rates of *le*, for instance, instead of including all the items holistically as was done in the current study.

5.5 The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence while studying abroad in general

One of the overarching goals of the current study was to better understand the development of sociolinguistic competence. Based on the results of the current study, there are several things that can be said regarding the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence. First, as shown in previous research, learners are prone to overgeneralizing the use of forms especially in the case where the use of a given form is frequent in the dialect to which they are exposed. For instance, the D.R. students overgeneralized their selection and production of overt SPs to rates that were even more frequent than the Dominicans who are from a

dialect in which overt SPs are used frequently. Although previous research has found that learners go through a u-shaped pattern of development in which students first increase their use of overt SPs before decreasing them (Geeslin et al. 2015), the results of the current study suggest that this may not be the only reason the D.R. students increased their rates of overt SPs since the Spain students decreased their rates of overt SPs over the course of the study abroad. However, overuse of forms depends crucially on the task and the linguistic structure. For instance, learners in both groups overused the selection of *le* and the present perfect in the WCT. Indeed, the Spain students, who were exposed to higher rates of both of these forms, increasing their rates of selection between Time 1 and Time 2 to rates that were even more overgeneralized than at Time 1. However, this overuse of these forms found in the WCT did not occur in the interview for these groups. Specifically, in the interview, both groups produced lower rates of the present perfect than their native speaker counterparts. Regarding the use of *le*, it was found that Spain students used lower rates of *le(s)* in accusative contexts than the native speakers even though they used higher rates in the WCT. Thus, the rates depend on structure and task. Second, the results of the current study show that the acquisition of variation may be mediated by the L2 learners' ability to productively use the structure in general. For instance, the L2 learners in the current study produced object pronouns in general at rates that were much lower than the native speakers suggesting that they have not yet fully acquired the use of object pronouns. Hence, one reason for their lack of sensitivity to the constraining factors of their use might be due to the fact that they have not even acquired the ability to use them productively yet. Just as learners have difficulty producing the subjunctive due to their lacking ability to produce complex sentence structures (Collentine 1995), the leaners here show very little

use of object pronouns and as such, do not appear to acquire a productive ability to vary between direct and indirect objects in accusative contexts even after a semester of exposure to a *leísta* dialect. Moreover, it might be that acquiring variation of a given structure may take longer because the use of that structure in general takes a long time to acquire possibly due to their lack of frequency in the input. For instance, students are able to productively employ subject pronouns, which as less complex syntactically and more frequent in the input, in target-like ways at this level of development. Finally, although L2 learners may acquire some awareness of dialect-specific variation of certain structures such as the Spain students' ability to select higher rates of the present perfect in today contexts in the WCT, this does not mean that they are able to apply this knowledge/awareness productively when they speak. Hence, previous research employing written tasks should not assume that the tendencies found in them are a reflection of what the learners would do in oral production (e.g. Geeslin et al. 2010, 2012; Kanwit et al. 2015; Kanwit & Solon 2013; Linford et al. 2013).

5.6 Conclusion

There were two overarching goals that guided the current study. The first and primary goal was to observe the acquisition of dialect-specific sociolinguistic competence in a study abroad context. The results show that students do in fact develop their abilities to vary between forms but that this development appears to depend on the location of the study abroad, the linguistic structure under investigation and the task. For the D.R. students, after studying abroad, they appeared to overgeneralize the use of overt SPs in comparison to the Dominicans in both the WCT and the interview. Indeed, in the WCT, the overgeneralization occurred at Time 1 and Time 2, but was greater at Time 2 suggesting

that after studying abroad, learners tended to overuse forms that were relatively more frequent in the input to an even greater degree after exposure to a dialect that has been shown to use the forms frequently. The Spain students also overgeneralized the selection of overt SPs in the WCT at both times but they decreased their rate of overt SPs in the interview to a rate that was very close to the Spaniard rate. For the other two structures, the D.R. students tended to overgeneralize the use of the present perfect and *le* at Time 1 and Time 2 in the WCT but showed clear progress toward the Dominican rates between Time 1 and Time 2. The Spain students, on the other hand, overgeneralized the selection of the *le* and the present perfect in the WCT at both times and even more so at Time 2 than Time 1. Again, like the D.R. students overuse of overt SPs, after being exposed to the relatively frequent use of the present perfect and *le* in accusative contexts, the learners appear to overgeneralize their use to rates that are even further form the Spaniard rate. In the interview however, both groups of students employed the present perfect less than both groups of native speakers at Time 1 and Time 2. Moreover, learners employed few object pronouns in the interview at both Time 1 and Time 2 and did not show as a whole much progress toward native rates of use of these forms.

Part of the reason why students may over/under-generalize the use of the forms may be due to their lack of sensitivity to the factors that constrain variation between forms for the native speakers. For the D.R. students and Spain students, it depended on the task and the linguistic structure whether or not the students were more like the native speakers from the region in which they studied abroad with regards to the significant factors constraining variation. For instance, the D.R. students only appeared to be clearly more like the Dominicans regarding the constraints on subject pronoun variation in the interview and the

constraints of the selection of *le* in the WCT. Specifically, at Time 2, the D.R. students had the same five significant factors for subject pronoun variation in the interview and also had not significant factors guiding object pronoun variation. In addition, they were similar to the Dominicans in that Temporal Reference guided the use of the present perfect in the interview. However, the significant factors were not always found to be in a target-like direction. In the WCT, both the D.R. students and the Dominicans did not select object pronouns nor the present perfect based on any of the factors. However, the Dominicans selected overt SPs based on two factors whereas nothing significantly constrained subject pronoun variation for the D.R. students. For the Spain students, only the constraints of the selection of the present perfect in the WCT and the constraints on the selection of *le* in the WCT were clearly more target-like at Time 2 than Time 1. These students had similar constraints in the interview at Time 2 for their use of subject pronouns, but not for their selection of overt SPs in the WCT. Regarding the use of *le*, the Spain students showed similarities to the Spaniards in that Animacy was significant in the WCT, but neither Gender nor Number became significant for these speakers nor did Animacy relate to the learners production of *le* in accusative contexts in the interview. Finally, for the present perfect, the Spain students did not become more like the Spaniards regarding number of constraints in the interview but did so in the WCT.

5.6.2 Limitations

Although the current study shed light on the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence during study abroad, there were limitations that need to be discussed. First, less students participated than was expected which led to fewer tokens for than was expected, especially with regard to the WCT. Indeed, since the L2 learners only completed

one of the versions of the WCT at Time 1 and the other at Time 2, for each time, they only had at most half the tokens as the native speakers. This lack of tokens may have been the reason why some factors were not found to be significant. For example, in some cases, the distribution of forms was similar to the native speakers for some of the manipulated factors in the WCT but they were not found to be significant. It may be the case that had more student participated and more data were obtained, some of the factors that were not significant based on the data collected in the current study may have been found to be significant and/or at the very least, would have made the results more generalizable. Moreover, with so few tokens of some of the structures, it was impossible to run certain statistical tests due to empty cells and it was even more difficult to split the students further into sub-groups based on extra-linguistic factors to see if they mediated the acquisition of sensitivity other linguistic factors included in the study.

Another limitation to the current study was that the interview questions did not elicit many contexts in which speakers had the opportunity to produce object pronouns in accusative contexts and even less contexts in which native speakers of a *leísta* dialect would have potentially employed *le* in an accusative context, that is, contexts which would have elicited the use of an object pronoun with an animate + male referent. For instance, there were questions that asked how the participants met their best friends, how often they see them, and, for the students, whether or not they missed them in the hopes that they would repeat the verbs *conocer, ver, and extrañar* and produce an object of some form. However, the great majority of the participants mentioned female best friends which would not tend to be referred to with a *le(s)* in accusative contexts even in *leísta* dialects (Klein

Andreu 2000). Second, many participants did not repeat the verbs in the questions. For example, many people responded like this female Dominican speaker:

(21) Interviewer: *Y ¿puedes describir el momento de conocer a este, a este amigo?*

And, Can you describe the moment that you met this, this friend?

Interviewee: *Ah, sí. Fue hace mucho tiempo cuando yo apenas tenía trece o doce años…*

Ah, yes, it was a long time ago when I was barely thirteen or twelve years old.

One potential manner in which this problem could be remedied in future research would be first to ask participants specifically who is their best *male* friend. Second, to ask the following questions all at once in order to force the participants to repeat the verbs. For example, the questions could be asked such as *Could you describe the moment you met this best friend, how often you see this person, and finally whether or not you miss this person?* Although this does have a lot of noun repetition in the object position, it would be one way in which the interviewees would be forced to repeat the verbs which would provide more opportunities to produce object pronouns in accusative contexts.

Another limitation was that although there were some significant findings regarding the results for the WCT, it is impossible to tell how carefully the participants read the task and/or how well the students understood the content of the dialogue. It is quite possible that there were participants who did not read the dialogue fully or students that did not understand the dialogue in its entirety which may have affected the results. In the future, one way to determine the students' understanding of the dialogue would be to have them

answer some comprehension questions after completing the task and/or have them self-evaluate their effort on the task in some way. Another potential method to determine attention to the task would be to utilize and eye-tracker which would show whether or not the participant read the entire dialogue.

In addition to these issues, although attempts were made to control the proficiency level of the students between groups so that they begin the study abroad at comparable levels of proficiency, the Spain students had a higher level of proficiency at Time 1 and Time 2 based on the results of the grammar test. Hence, it is unclear what the results would have been had both groups been more homogenous with regard to proficiency especially since it have been found in previous research and in the current study that proficiency plays a role in the acquisition of these structures.

5.6.3 Future directions

Although this study sheds light on the development of these forms after studying abroad, there are still many questions that remain unanswered. First, although there were differences between students regarding proficiency, the learners included in the current study were relatively homogenous with regard to their level of Spanish. However, previous research has shown that pre-study abroad proficiency has an effect on the development of linguistic skills while abroad (e.g. Ife, Vives Boix & Meara 2000; Vande Berg, Connor-Linton & Paige 2009). For instance, if learners arrive in the Spanish-speaking country having already acquired an ability to employ of the present perfect and/or object pronouns productively, they quite possibly will show different patterns of development and exposure to dialect-specific may have a greater effect on these learners. However, the opposite could be true if the learners' patterns of use of these forms are well enough established that they

resist change in the direction of the dialect specific uses of the native speakers. Thus, future research would benefit from including participants at higher levels of proficiency to see if they follow the same path of development of these dialectal forms.

In addition, the participants in the current study were tested two times: once at the beginning of the study abroad and again at the end. In longitudinal studies, it can be beneficial to collect data from participants more than just two times in order to observe more of the development (see Ortega & Gina Iberri-Shea 2005). Indeed, as discussed previously, including an additional data collection time in the middle of a short-term study abroad revealed u-shaped patterns of development regarding *le* (Geeslin et al. 2010). Moreover, as suggested by Lafford & Collentine (2006) and Lafford (2006), study abroad research would benefit from collecting additional data after the students have spent some time at home to determine if the linguistic gains and the patterns of development due to exposure to dialect-specific variation are long-lasting.

Another avenue of future research would be to use additional data-collection tasks for determining the students contact with the native language during the study abroad. The students in the current study self-rated their contact during a study abroad at the end of the study abroad experience and no significant correlations were discovered between their contact and their rates of use of the linguistic structures under investigation. However, contact with the native language is very dynamic can be ever-changing and as such, determining contact with the native language can be difficult. In addition, it may be that contact in the language may be with speakers that are not originally from the area in which the students are studying abroad and as such would not reflect the regional norms which may in turn affect the linguistic forms the students employ (George 2014). Hence,

employing tasks such as a student diary in week learners detail their daily/weekly interactions in Spanish may provide the researcher with more details regarding the nature and the amount of contact the learners receive. This, in turn, may not only lead to a clearer picture of what types of interactions the students are having in the target language, but reveal potential relationships between the use of linguistic forms and the exact nature of the linguistic input the students are receiving. The discovery of these relationships would also inform lagnauge teachers and study abroad program directors what types of contact are important in order for the students to improve in their sociolinguistic abilities in the second language.

Additionally, it may be fruitful to examine the effects of explicit instruction regarding dialectal uses of the linguistic structures in the current study. Explicit instruction has been shown to affect second language acquisition (see Ellis 2015). As mentioned in section 3.2.1.1, students were excluded from the study if they had received explicit instruction regarding dialect-specific uses of any of the structures under investigation. This exclusion was in part implemented because it was made known to me that the students who were studying abroad in Alcalá de Henares, Spain had been taught explicitly the same week of the Time 1 data collection that in Spain, speakers used the present perfect to express completed actions that occurred previously the same day. As a result, in the interview, the majority of these students that had received this instruction employed the present perfect when talking about what they did the morning before the interview. This result was quite possibly due to the explicit instruction the students received given that the students in Madrid, who received no such explicit instruction, did not employ the present perfect in the same contexts. However, future research with more detail regarding the quantity and

quality of the explicit instruction would be able to determine the exact effects it may have on the acquisition of variable structures.

Another avenue for future research would be to look additional linguistic variables that differ between these two Spanish-speaking regions. For instance, although studies have examined the ability of L2 learners to perceive coda-final /s/-weakening after being exposed to /s/-weakening dialects of Spanish (Bedinghaus 2015; Schmidt 2011) and one study has looked at L2 learners ability production of /s/-weakening (Geeslin & Gudmestad 2011b), no study has specifically examined L2 learners' production of /s/ reduction after studying abroad. Indeed, /s/-weakening has been attested in the Dominican Republic (Terrell 1981) but to a lesser degree in the Madrid region of Spain (Hualde 2005). This could shed further light on L2 learners' ability to not only perceive variable structures, but to produce them as well as provide a comparison between the acquisition of morpho-syntactic variation alongside phonological variation.

Previous research suggests that factors such as learner motivation (Linford 2014) and contact with native speakers (Linford et al. 2013) mediate sensitivity to the linguistic factors constraining subject pronoun variation. Specifically, learners with higher self-reported motivation toward Spanish and those that self-reported more contact with native speakers during a study abroad experience showed constraints on subject pronoun variation that more closely resembled the native-speaker participants those learners that reported lower motivation or lower amounts of language contact respectively. However, due to the low number of participants, in the current study no analyses were carried out to determine if any of the extra-linguistic factors mediated sensitivity to any of the independent linguistic factors included. Thus, future research that includes a sufficient number of participants

would benefit by examining the potential mediating effects of the extra-linguistic factors on the linguistic factors that constrain variation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview questions – Students Time 1

1) Introductory questions	
¿Cómo te llamas?	What is your name?
¿De dónde eres?	Where are you from?
¿Cuántos años tienes?	How old are you?
¿Dónde y con quién vives aquí?	Where and with whom do you live?
¿Puedes describir a los miembros de la familia con quien vives?	Can you describe the members of the family with whom you live?
¿Qué estudias en la universidad y por qué?	What do you study at the university and why?

2) Questions eliciting past tense	
¿Podrías describir con detalles los eventos del día (hoy) desde el principio hasta ahora?	Could you describe in detail the event of the day (today) from the beginning until now?
¿Podrías hacer la misma cosa sino describiendo los eventos de ayer?	Could you do the same thing but describe the events of yesterday?
¿Podrías describir tu primer día en España/R.D.?	Could you describe your first day here in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Podrías describir con detalles un evento importante de tu vida? (e.g. la graduación de la secundaria, un viaje importante, un partido importante, el primer día de la universidad, etc.)	Could you describe with detail an important event in your life? (such as your high-school graduation, an important trip, an important game, your first day at college, etc.)

3) Questions about family	
¿Podrías describir a tu familia?	Could you describe your family?
¿Quiénes son?	Who are they?
¿Cómo son en cuanto a la personalidad?	How are they with regard to their personalities?
¿Dónde viven y a qué se dedican?	Where do they live and what are their professions?
¿Tienes parientes que hablan español?	Do you have relatives that speak Spanish?
¿Hablas español con ellos?	Do you speak Spanish with them?
Antes de venir aquí, ¿Con qué frecuencia veías a tu familia?	Before coming here, How often did you see your family?
Ahora que estás aquí, ¿Comunicas mucho con ellos?	Now that you are here, do you communicate much with them?
¿Extrañas a tu familia? (i.e. te sientes mal estar lejos de ellos) ¿Por qué?	Do you miss your family? Why?

4) Questions about best friend	
¿Tienes mejor amigo o amiga?	Do you have a best friend?
¿Cómo se llama?	What is their name?
¿Cómo es?	What are they like?
Antes de venir aquí, ¿Con qué frecuencia veías a tu mejor amigo?	Before coming here, how often would you see your friend?
¿Puedes describir con detalles el momento de conocer a tu mejor amigo?	Can you describe with detail the moment that you met your friend?
¿Extrañas a tu mejor amigo? ¿Por qué?	Do you miss your friend? Why?

5) Questions about country of study abroad	
¿Por qué querías estudiar en España/R.D.?	Why did you want to study Spanish in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Qué te parece España/R.D. hasta ahora?	What do you think of Spain/Dominican Republic up to now?
¿Qué piensas del español que se habla aquí?	What do you think of the Spanish that is spoken here?
¿Quieres aprender a hablar español como una persona de España/R.D.?	Do you want to speak Spanish like a person from Spain/Dominican Republic?

6) Questions about future plans	
¿Qué planes tienes para el resto de la semana?	What plans do you have for the rest of the week?
¿Qué piensas hacer después de graduarte?	What do you plan on doing after you graduate?
¿Dónde te ves en cinco años?	Where do you see yourself in five years?

7) Opinion questions	
¿Qué características de tu personalidad te ayudan aquí en España?	What attributes of your presonality help you here in Spain?
¿A quién admiras más en la vida y por qué?	Who do you admire most in your life and why?

Appendix B

Interview questions – Students Time 2

1) Introductory question	
¿Cómo te llamas?	What is your name?

2) Questions eliciting past tense	
¿Podrías describir con detalles los eventos del día (hoy) desde el principio hasta ahora?	Could you describe in detail the event of the day (today) from the beginning until now?
¿Podrías hacer la misma cosa sino describiendo los eventos de ayer?	Could you do the same thing but describe the events of yesterday?

¿Podrías hablar de una de tus mejores experiencias aquí en R.D./España?	Could you talk about one of your best experiences here in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Podrías hablar con detalles de uno de tus mejores recuerdos de niño/a?	Could you talk about one of your favorite memories from your childhood?

3) Questions about activities and language use during study abroad	
¿Qué haces en tu tiempo libre aquí en R.D./España?	What do you do in your free time here in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Con quién pasas tu tiempo libre?	Who do you spend your free time with?
¿Hablas mucho con hablantes nativos de español? ¿Con quién? ¿Son todos de Madrid/Santiago?	Do you speak with a lot with native Spanish speakers? With whom? Are they all from Madrid/Santiago?
¿Hablas mucho inglés aquí? ¿Con quién?	Do you speak a lot of English? With who?

4) Questions about best friend during study abroad	
¿Quién sería uno de tus mejores amigos aquí en R.D./España?	Who would be one of your best friends here in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Podrías describir a tu amigo?	Could you describe the friend?
¿Con qué frecuencia ves a este amigo?	How often do you see this friend?
¿Podrías describir el momento de conocer a este amigo?	Could you describe the moment you met with friend?

5) General opinion questions	
En tu opinión, ¿Cuáles son las características del amigo ideal?	In your opinion, what are the attributes of an ideal friend?
¿Hay personas y/o cosas que extrañas de los EE.UU.?	Are there people and/or things that you miss about the United States?
¿Cuál sería uno de tus sueños más preciados? (realista o no realista)	What would be one of you biggest dreams? (realistic or not)

6) Course enrollment questions	
¿Podrías describir sus cursos universitarios aquí en R.D./España?	Could you describe your university courses here in Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Cómo es el formato de las clases?	What is the format of the clases?
¿Cómo son diferentes que las clases que los has tenido en los EE.UU.? ¿son más fáciles o difíciles?	How are the classes different than those that you have had in the US? Are they easier or harder?
¿Hay españoles/dominicanos en tus clases?	Are there Spaniards/Dominicans in your classes?
¿Te gustan tus clases? ¿Por qué sí o no?	Do you like your classes? Why?

7) Opinion questions about study abroad location and program

¿Cuáles son las cosas que te gustan y no te gustan de R.D./España?	What are the things that you like about Spain/Dominican Republic and the things that you don't like about Spain/Dominican Republic?
¿Qué piensas del dialecto de español que se habla aquí?	What do you think about the dialect of Spanish that is spoken here?
¿Qué piensas sobre el programa de CIEE? ¿Te han ayudado los directores?	What do you think about the CIEE program? Have the directors helped you?

8) Questions about future plans	
¿Qué piensas hacer después de la entrevista?	What do you plan on doing after the interview?
¿Me puedes hablar un poco de tus planes después de regresar a EE.UU.?	Can you tell me about your plans for when you return to the US?

Appendix C

Interview questions – Native speakers

1) Introduction questions	
¿Cómo te llamas?	What is your name?
¿De dónde eres?	Where are you from?
¿Cuántos años tienes?	How old are you?
¿Qué estudias en la universidad y por qué?	What do you study at the university and why?

2) Questions eliciting the past tense	
¿Podrías describir con detalles los eventos del día (hoy) desde el principio hasta ahora?	Could you describe in detail the event of the day (today) from the beginning until now?
¿Podrías hacer la misma cosa sino describiendo los eventos de ayer?	Could you do the same thing but describe the events of yesterday?
¿Podrías describir con detalles un evento importante de tu vida? (e.g. la graduación de la secundaria, un viaje importante, un partido importante, el primer día de la universidad, etc.)	Could you describe with detail an important event in your life? (e.g. your high-school graduation, an important trip, an important game, your first day at college, etc.)

3) Questions about the family	
¿Podrías describir a tu familia?	Could you describe your family?
¿Quiénes son?	Who are they?
¿Cómo son en cuanto a la personalidad?	How are they with regard to their personalities?
¿Dónde viven y a qué se dedican?	Where do they live and what are their professions?
¿Se llevan bien todos?	Do you all get along?

¿Con qué frecuencia ves a tu familia?	How often do you see your family?

4) Questions about a best friend	
¿Tienes mejor amigo o amiga?	Do you have a best friend?
¿Cómo se llama?	What is his/her name?
¿Cómo es?	What is your friend like?
¿Con qué frecuencia ves a tu mejor amigo?	How often do you see your best friend?
¿Puedes describir con detalles el momento de conocer a tu mejor amigo?	Can you describe with detail the moment that you met your friend?

5) Questions about future plans	
¿Qué planes tienes para esta semana?	What plans do you have for the week?
¿Qué piensas hacer después de graduarte?	What do you plan on doing after you graduate?
¿Dónde te ves en cinco años?	Where do you see yourself in five years?

6) Opinion questions	
¿Qué características de tu personalidad te ayudan en la vida?	What aspects of your personality help you in life?
¿A quién admiras más en la vida y por qué?	Who do you admire most in your life and why?
¿Cuál es su plato favorito? ¿Cómo se prepara?	What is your favorite dish? How do you prepare it?

7) Questions about foreign travel and knowledge of other languages	
¿Hablas otro idioma además del español? ¿A qué nivel estás en este idioma (e.g. principiante, intermedio, avanzado, etc.)	Do you speak langauges other than Spanish? What level are you in that language? (beginner, intermediate, advanced, etc.)
¿Has viajado fuera del país? ¿Puedes describir el viaje (dónde, cuándo, por cuánto tiempo, por qué, etc.)	Have you traveled outside of the country? Can you describe the trip? (where, when, for how long, why, etc.)

Appendix D

Grammar test

Instructions: Please read the story below about a Hispanic female college student and select the answers that best complete each sentence.

Instrucciones: Lea la historia sobre una estudiante universitaria y seleccione las respuestas que mejor completan las oraciones.

Creo que es muy interesante **[hablar/hablando/hablo]** de los hábitos alimenticios de la gente. Yo, por mi parte, soy vegetariana. Cuando voy a eventos sociales, como por ejemplo fiestas, bodas o bailes, espero que **[hay/haya/sea/]** comida vegetariana allí. Algunas personas dicen que **[le/los/les]** representa un inconveniente proveer **[le/la/lo]**, pero yo creo que no **[tiene/tenga/tengo]** que ser así. De hecho, la comida vegetariana es muy fácil **[en/de/a]** preparar. Y cuando no se ofrece, puede ser **[el/una/un]** gran problema. Yo recuerdo una vez que **[iba/fui/voy]** a una fiesta de cumpleaños y **[resultaba/resulté/resultó]** ser todo un desastre. La fiesta era en la casa de un amigo, y él había invitado a mucha gente. Me sorprendió porque para ser un estudiante de postgrado con poco dinero, tenía una gran variedad de comida para los invitados. Yo creo que si me **[habría/había/hubiera]** tocado a mí dar la fiesta, no **[hubiera/habría/había]** dado ni la mitad de lo que **[había/hubiera/era]** allí. Pero pronto me **[doy/daba/di]** cuenta que él no había preparado nada vegetariano. Yo no pongo problemas por ese tipo de cosas, pero una amiga **[de mí/mi/mía]** sí **[le/lo/se]** hace. **[Empezaba/Empezó/Empezado]** a quejarse en frente de todo el mundo, mientras el anfitrión sólo **[miró/miraba/miraría]** la escena con **[su/una/la]** boca abierta. Yo le dije a mi amiga que **[dejara/deje/dejaba]** de causar tanto escándalo, pero no me puso atención. Por fin, el anfitrión dijo: "La próxima vez que tenga una fiesta, **[preparara/prepararía/prepararé]** algo vegetariano." Yo le dije después a mi amiga: "Mejor tarde que nunca, ¿no?"

Grammar test (English translation)

I think it's very interesting to talk about people's eating habits. As for me, I'm vegetarian. When I go to social events, like for example parties, weddings or dances, I hope that there is vegetarian food there. Some people say that it's an inconvenience for them to provide it, but I believe that it doesn't have to be so. In fact, vegetarian food is very easy to prepare. And when it's not offered, it can be a big problem. I remember one time that I went to a birthday party and it was a disaster. The party was at the house of a friend, and he had invited a lot of people. I was surprised because for being a graduate student with little money, he had a large variety of food for the invites. I think that if I were to give the party, I wouldn't have provided even half of what was there. But I soon realized that he hadn't prepared anything vegetarian. I don't overreact to these types of things, but a friend of mine does. She began to complain in front of everyone, while the host only looked at the scene with his mouth open. I said to my friend to stop causing such a scandal, but she didn't pay attention to me. Finally, the host said: "The next time that I have a party, I'll prepare something vegetarian." Afterwards I said to my friend: "Better late than never, right?"

Appendix E

Written contextualized task – Version A

Instructions: Complete the dialogue by selecting the options from the drop down menus that you feel sound most natural in each context. If neither sounds very natural, select the one that is the closest to natural sounding. If both options sound equally natural, just select either one. Be sure to read the entire dialogue from beginning to end.

Instrucciones: Complete el diálogo por seleccionar las opciones de los menús desplegables que le parecen más naturales en cada contexto. Asegúrese de que lea todo el diálogo desde el principio hasta el final.

Sofía y Marta son amigas desde hace mucho tiempo. Se encuentran en el campus de la universidad el martes y conversan.

Sofía: ¡Hola, Marta!

Marta: ¡Hola, Sofía!

Sofía: ¿Por qué **[tú tienes/tienes tú]** el brazo en un cabestrillo (*sling*)?

Marta: La verdad es que es una historia larga.

Sofía: Tengo tiempo. Cuéntame todo.

Marta: Lo haré. Pero quiero comer algo antes. Solamente **[comí/he comido]** dos magdalenas esta mañana y tengo mucha hambre.

Sofía: De hecho, yo también tengo hambre. En realidad, es un tema recurrente (*common occurrence*). Tengo el mal hábito de saltarme el desayuno. Sé que no es saludable, pero **[salí/he salido]** de casa temprano esta mañana sin desayunar.

Marta: **Sofía, ¡Debes cuidarte mejor!**

Sofía: **Sí, sí. Ya lo sé.**

Marta: **¿Dónde quieres comer entonces?**

Sofía: **No tengo preferencia. ¿Dónde [tú quieres comer/quieres comer tú]?**

Marta: ¿Qué tal si vamos al Café Bosque y te lo cuento todo? Estoy segura de que disfrutarás de la historia.

Sofía: Espera un momento ¿En qué restaurante quieres comer?

Marta: En el Café Bosque. ¿No **[lo/le]** conoces? Queda a cinco minutos de aquí al lado del centro comercial.

Sofía: ¿Es ese restaurante nuevo que sirve comida orgánica?

Marta: Sí, es ese.

Sofía: Pues nunca he comido allí, pero ahora recuerdo que ayer **[vi/he visto]** un anuncio en la tele sobre el café.

Marta: Pues, la comida es buena y saludable. También me gusta el ambiente tranquilo y relajado. Paso mucho tiempo allí últimamente. De hecho, **[fui**/he ido] allí la semana pasada con Carlos.

Sofía: ¿Con quién?

Marta: Con Carlos…Carlos Ramírez.

Sofía: ¡No lo puedo creer! ¿¡Carlos todavía está por aquí!? ¿No salió para Puerto Rico? ¡**[Terminó**/Ha terminado] los estudios el mes pasado! Tú misma sabes que somos buenos amigos.

Marta: Sí, lo sé.

Sofía: Por eso no entiendo por qué él no me dijo que iba a quedarse aquí en la ciudad. Me dijo que como ya tenía una oferta de trabajo, **[él iba**/iba] a irse a Puerto Rico justo después de graduarse.

Marta: Pues, no sé. ¿Piensas que podría haber alguna razón por la que él no querría que tú supieras que está en la ciudad?

Sofía: Que yo sepa, no (*not that I know of*).

Marta: Entonces yo tampoco lo entiendo. Pero sí sé que todavía está aquí. **[Lo**/Le] veo casi cada día por el campus.

Sofía: ¡Estoy tan confundida! Sé que no es una gran cosa pero creo que me siento un poco ofendida.

Marta: ¡No te sientas así, Sofía! Estoy segura que hay una explicación lógica. Quizás él está muy ocupado últimamente o algo así.

Sofía: ¿Demasiado ocupado para no llamarme ni mandarme un mensaje de texto ni nada? Lo dudo. Tendré que contactarle y preguntarle por qué me **[ha dicho**/dijo] el mes pasado que iba a salir.

Marta: No te preocupes, estoy segura de que no quería hacerte sentir mal. Pues, ya llegamos al Café. ¿Entramos?

(Marta y Sofía se sientan en una mesa)

Sofía: Bueno, ya hemos hablado suficiente de mí ¿Ahora me vas a contar sobre el brazo?

Marta: Sí, sí. ¡Por supuesto! Pero debo advertirte que es una historia larga. Sabes que me gusta correr, ¿verdad?

Sofía: Claro que sí.

Marta: Pues, el marzo pasado me **[inscribí**/he inscrito] en el maratón de la ciudad.

Sofía: ¡No me digas! ¿¡De verdad!?

Marta: Sí, de verdad.

Sofía: ¡Qué aventurera! Yo tendría miedo de inscribirme en un maratón porque no tengo tanta resistencia física (*stamina*).

Marta: Ya sabes que yo siempre había pensado en correr un maratón pero también temía hacerlo. **[Corría**/Yo corría] frecuentemente pero no a distancias largas.

Sofía: Pues, tú eres mejor que yo. Yo casi nunca corro. Me gusta más jugar a los deportes para hacer ejercicio. Pero bueno, sigue con la historia.

Marta: Entonces, estaba hablando con Rosa y me dijo que iba a inscribirse (*sign up*) para el maratón y que quería que yo corriera con ella. Ya sabes que Rosa es una de mis mejores amigas y **[la**/le] quiero mucho. Así que decidí inscribirme para apoyar a Rosa y por fin cumplir mi sueño.

Sofía: y ¿fue difícil entrenar para el maratón?

Marta: Sí y no. Rosa y yo entrenamos juntas. Ella ya sabe bien lo que se hace para entrenar porque siempre corre en el maratón de la ciudad. De hecho, el año pasado **[lo**/le] terminó en tres horas y media!

Sofía: ¡Qué rápido!

Marta: ¡A que sí!, ¿no? Bueno, después de correr con ella la primera vez le comenté que tendríamos que reducir la velocidad la próxima vez porque al final no podía

seguir el ritmo. ¡Corrió tan rápido! **[Tomé**/Yo tomé] mil descansos y bebí agua suficiente como para ahogarme.

Sofía: Yo tampoco corro rápido. Yo no tengo prisa cuando hago ejercicio. No creo que valga la pena. De hecho, esta mañana **[leí**/he leído] un artículo periodístico que dice que es más importante ser constante (tener consistencia; *be consistent*) que la velocidad del ejercicio.

Marta: Pues menos mal (*thank goodness*) porque aunque soy bastante constante, no soy nada rápida. Rosa, al contrario, siempre corre como si su vida dependiera de ello (*life depended on it*). Creo que a veces es demasiado competitiva. De hecho, el año pasado **[ha ganado**/ganó] dos carreras de 5k.

Sofía: ¡Guau!

Marta: Pero bueno. Entrenamos juntas durante todo el mes pasado. Yo nunca había corrido tanto en mi vida. Era muy difícil no darme por vencida (*give up*).

Sofía: y ¿cuándo **[tuvo**/ha tenido] lugar (*to take place*) el maratón?

Marta: Ayer. Siempre se organiza el primer lunes de junio. Es el primer evento importante del verano.

Sofía: ¿Y cómo **[tú te sentías/te sentías tú]** la noche antes de correr el maratón?

Marta: La verdad es que estaba bastante nerviosa.

Sofía: Yo estaría nerviosa también. ¡No es poca cosa correr un maratón!

Marta: Es cierto. Por eso no me **[dormí**/he dormido] hasta la una y media de la madrugada ayer.

Sofía: Un poco tarde, ¿no? ¿A qué hora empieza el maratón de la ciudad?

Marta: A las diez de la mañana. Es que no pude quedarme dormida. Rosa no estaba nerviosa en absoluto. Trataba de tranquilizarme pero me sentía demasiado alterada (*agitated*). A medida que **[ella trataba**/trataba] de calmarme, me ponía más y más nerviosa.

Sofía: ¡Qué pesada!

Marta: Sí pero sé que lo hizo con la mejor intención (*tried her best*). Creo que yo era un caso perdido (*lost cause*) y que nadie me habría podido tranquilizar. Cuando salió Rosa, yo puse la televisión y me eché en el sofá. Después **[me tomé**/yo me tomé] una taza de leche caliente para tranquilizarme.

Sofía: ¡Buena idea! La leche caliente siempre me tranquiliza a mí.

Marta: A mí también. Mi mamá siempre me daba leche caliente con galletas maría de niña para tranquilizarme.

Sofía: ¿Y qué tal? ¿Te sentías más tranquila después de beber la leche?

Marta: Sí, un poquito. **[La**/Le] tomaba muy lentamente y después me sentía un poco más tranquila. Por lo menos ya no pensaba que iba a morir durante la carrera. Y la tele era una distracción buena también. Después de poco tiempo, no había nada interesante en la tele y por eso **[le**/la] apagué y me fui a la cama a las diez.

Sofía: ¿No dijiste que te acostaste a la una y media?

Marta: Dije que me dormí a la una y media. O sea, al acostarme no podía dormir. Los nervios no me dejaban en paz. Al final no pude dormirme hasta a la una y media.

Sofía: Entonces ¿A qué hora te **[levantaste/ha levantado]** ayer?

Marta: No lo vas a creer. De hecho, me siento un poco avergonzada diciéndotelo.

Sofía: Dímelo Marta. ¿A qué hora?

Marta: ¡Nueve y media! ¡Es que tenía tanto sueño que no podía levantarme!

Sofía: ¡Nueve y media! ¡Qué tarde! ¿no? ¿No empezaba el maratón a las diez?

Marta: ¡Sí! Y por mala suerte, ayer por la mañana después de darme cuenta de la hora y levantarme, no podía recordar dónde había dejado las llaves la noche anterior. Por fin **[encontré**/he encontrado] las llaves de repuesto (*spare keys*) debajo de la cama como cinco minutos después.

Sofía: ¿A cuánto tiempo quedaba la línea de salida (*starting line*)?

Marta: A 15 minutos de mi casa. Menos mal que no había tráfico pero a medio camino un hombre al adelantarme con su coche se metió en mi carril tan cerca de mí que casi se estrelló (*crashed*) contra mi coche. Toqué la bocina (*horn*) y todo. **[Él puso**/Puso] una cara como si no hubiera hecho nada mal. De todas maneras llegué al maratón justo a tiempo. Pero al principio temía que iba a tener que correr sola porque no podía encontrar a Rosa. No contestaba su teléfono ni nada. **[Gritaba**/Yo gritaba] su nombre como una loca pero al final me llamó por teléfono y nos encontramos un minuto antes de empezar el maratón.

Sofía: ¡Qué suerte! ¿Y qué tal te fue la carrera?

Marta: Una aventura, o sea, mucho más emocionante de lo que esperaba porque corrió Ricardo Valenzuela también, el chico guapo que conocí el año pasado en mi clase de química. En la última milla del maratón él me vio y me saludó.

Sofía: Pues eso está bien, ¿no?

Marta: Sí pero ¿sabes qué pasó? Yo **[le**/lo] saludé y de repente me tropecé y me caí.

Sofía: ¡No me digas! ¿Qué pasó después?

Marta: Pues, Ricardo lo vio todo y paró para ayudarme. Pero Rosa no me vio caer y siguió corriendo. Me dolía el brazo pero estaba segura de que no me **[lo/le]** había roto. Después de levantarme, Ricardo me preguntó si quería terminar la carrera con él dado que yo ya no tenía pareja. Le dije que siguiera sin mí porque sabía que yo ya no podría correr tan rápido.

Sofía: ¿Y se fue sin ti?

Marta: Pues no. Dijo que no le importaba terminar el maratón rápido y después de eso me tomó por la mano y buscamos a Rosa. Después de algunos minutos, **[la/le]** encontramos esperándome en la acera (*sidewalk*). Entonces, todos decidimos

terminar el maratón juntos. No establecimos ningún récord, pero por lo menos terminamos el maratón todos vivos. ¿no?

Sofía: Pues sí pero ¿qué pasó con el brazo?

Marta: Resulta que en verdad tengo el brazo roto. Se podía ver una pequeña fractura (*fracture*) en la radiografía (*x-ray*). ¡Qué vergüenza! ¿no? Pero esta mañana Ricardo **[ha venido**/vino] a mi casa para preguntar si estaba bien.

Sofía: ¡Qué bien!

Marta: Sí, por eso ahora me da igual tener el brazo roto. Además, ahora tenemos planes para ir a cenar a un restaurante el viernes que viene.

Sofía: Pues, me alegro mucho por ti.

Marta: Gracias. Bueno, ya es tarde y todavía tengo mucho trabajo que hacer.

Sofía: **Yo también.**

Marta: Pero pensaba que estabas de vacaciones…¿Qué **[tú tienes que hacer/tienes que hacer tú]**?

Sofía: Tengo que limpiar mi apartamento. ¡Es un desastre y mi madre viene a visitarme esta tarde!

Marta: De acuerdo. Bueno, me alegro de verte.

Sofía: Igualmente. Suerte con la cita.

Marta: Gracias

Sofía: …oh, y por cierto, si ves a Carlos, dile que si no me llama, **[lo**/le] voy a matar. ¿De acuerdo?

Marta: De acuerdo. Pues, nos vemos.

Sofía: Hasta Luego.

Marta: Adiós

Appendix F

Written contextualized task – Version A (English translation)

Instructions: Complete the dialogue by selecting the options from the drop down menus that you feel sound most natural in each context. Be sure to read the entire dialogue from beginning to end.

Sophia and Marta are longtime friends. They are in the college campus on Tuesday and talk.

Sophia: Hi, Marta!

Marta: Hello, Sophia!

Sophia: What happened? Why do **[you have/have you]** your arm in a sling?

Marta: The truth is that it's a long story.

Sophia: I have time. Tell me everything.

Marta: I will. But I want to eat something before. I only **[ate/have eaten]** two small muffins this morning and am very hungry.

Sophia: In fact, I'm hungry too. Actually, it is a common occurrence. I have the bad habit of skipping breakfast. I know it's not healthy, but I **[left/have left]** the house early this morning without breakfast.

Marta: Sophia, you have to take better care of yourself!

Sophia: Yes, yes. I know.

Marta: Where you want to eat then?

Sophia: I don't have a preference. Where do **[you want to eat/want to eat you]**?

Marta: How about we walk to Café Forest and I'll tell you everything? I'm sure you will enjoy the story.

Sophia: Wait a minute. What restaurant you want to eat in?

Marta: The Forest Café. You're not familiar with **[it/it]**? It's five minutes from here by the mall.

Sophia: Is it that new restaurant that serves organic food?

Marta: Yes, it is.

Sophia: Well, I've never eaten there, but now I remember that yesterday I **[saw/have seen]** an ad on TV about the café.

Marta: Well, the food is good and healthy. I also like the quiet and relaxed atmosphere. I spend a lot of time there lately. In fact, I **[went/have gone]** there last week with Carlos.

Sophia: Who?

Marta: With Carlos... Carlos Ramirez.

Sophia: I don't believe it! Carlos is still around? He hasn't left for Puerto Rico? He **[finished/has finished]** his studies last month! You yourself know that we are good friends.

Marta: Yes, I know.

Sophia: That's why I do not understand why he did not tell me he was going to stay here in the city. He told me that since I already had a job, **[he was going/was going]** to leave for Puerto Rico right after graduation.

Marta: Well, I do not know. Do you think there might be some reason why he would not want you to know he's in town?

Sophia: Not that I know of.

Marta: Then I do not understand either. But I know he's still here. I see **[him/him]** almost every day around campus.

Sophia: I'm so confused! I know it's not a big deal but I think I feel a little offended.

Marta: Don't feel that way, Sophia! I'm sure there's a logical explanation. Maybe he's really busy lately or something.

Sophia: Too busy to not call or send a text or anything? I doubt it. I'll have to contact him and ask why he **[told/has told]** me last month that he was going to leave.

Marta: Do not worry, I'm sure did not want to make you feel bad. Well, here we are at the Café. Shall we?

(Marta and Sophie sitting on a table)

Sophia: Well, we've talked enough about me. Now are you going to tell me about your arm?

Marta: Yes, yes. Of course! But I must warn you that it's a long story. You know I like to run, right?

Sophia: Sure.

Marta: Well, last March I **[signed up/have signed up]** in the city marathon.

Sophia: No way! Really!?

Marta: Yes, really.

Sophia: How adventurous! I would be afraid to do a marathon because I don't have much stamina.

Marta: You know I'd always thought about running a marathon but was afraid to. **[Ran/I ran]** frequently but not long distances.

Sophia: Well, you're better than me. I almost never run. I like to play sports for exercise. Anyway, continue with your story.

Marta: So I was talking to Rosa and said he was going to sign up for the marathon and wanted me to run with her. You know Rosa is one of my best friends and I love **[her/her]** a lot. So I decided to sign up to support Rosa and finally fulfill my dream.

Sophia: and was it difficult to train for the marathon?

Marta: Yes and no. Rosa and I trained together. She already knows how to train because she always runs in the city marathon. In fact, last year she completed **[it/it]** in three hours!

Sophia: How fast!

Marta: Yeah, huh? Well, after running with her the first time I commented that we would have to slow down in the future because in the end I could not keep up. She ran so fast! **[Took/I took]** a thousand breaks and drank enough water to drown myself.

Sophia: I don't run fast either. I'm not in a hurry when I exercise. I do not think it's worth it. In fact, this morning **[I read/have read]** a newspaper article that says it's more important to be consistent than the speed of the exercise.

Marta: Well thank goodness because although I'm pretty consistent, I am not fast. Rosa, on the other hand, always run as if your life depended on it. I think sometimes she's too competitive. In fact, last year she **[won/has won]** two 5ks.

Sophia: Wow!

Marta: Anyway. We trained together all last month. I had never run so much in my life. It was very difficult not to give up.

Sophia: and when **[did the marathon/has the marathon]** taken place?

Marta: Yesterday. It's always happens the first Monday of June. It is the first major event of the summer.

Sophia: And how you **[felt/did you feel]** the night before you ran the marathon?

Marta: The truth is I was pretty nervous.

Sophia: I'd be nervous too. It's no small feat to run a marathon!

Marta: It's true. So I **[did not get/have not gotten]** to sleep until one-thirty in the morning yesterday.

Sophia: A little late, huh? What time does the city marathon begin?

Marta: At ten o'clock. I just could not fall asleep. Rosa was not nervous at all. She tried to reassure me but I was too upset. While **[she tried/tried]** to calm me down, I became more and more nervous.

Sophia: What a pain!

Marta: Yes but I know she tried her best. I think I was a lost cause and that no one could calm me down. When Rosa left, I turned on the TV and laid down on the couch. Then **[drank/I drank]** a cup of warm milk to calm myself down.

Sophia: Great idea! Warm milk always calms me.

Marta: Me too. My mom always gave me warm milk with Maria cookies to calm me when I was a girl.

Sophia: How's it go? Did you feel more relaxed after drinking the milk?

Marta: Yes, a little. I drank **[it/it]** very slowly and then I felt a little calmer. At least I didn't think I was going to die during the race anymore. And the TV was also a good distraction also. Before long, there was nothing interesting on TV and so I turned **[it/it]** off and went to bed at ten.

Sophia: Didn't you say you went to bed at one-thirty?

Marta: I said I fell asleep at one-thirty. I mean, when I got in bed I couldn't sleep. My nerves wouldn't leave me alone. In the end I couldn't get to sleep until at one-thirty.

Sophia: So what time **[did you get up/have you woken up]** yesterday?

Marta: You won't believe it. In fact, I feel a little embarrassed telling you.

Sophia: Tell me Marta. What time?

Marta: Nine-thirty! I was so sleepy that I couldn't get up!

Sophia: Nine-thirty! How late! Right? Didn't the marathon begin at ten?

Marta: Yes! And as luck would have it, yesterday morning after realizing the time and getting up, I could not remember where I had left the keys the night before. I finally **[found/have found]** the spare keys under the bed five minutes later.

Sophia: How far away was the starting line?

Marta: 15 minutes from my house. Luckily there was no traffic but halfway there a man cut me off and almost crashed into my car. I honked my horn and all. **[He made/made]** a face as if he hadn't done anything wrong. Anyway I arrived just in time to marathon. But at first I was afraid that I would have to run alone because I could not find Rosa. She didn't answer her phone or anything. **[Yelled/I yelled]** her name like crazy person but eventually she classed me and we met up a minute before the marathon began.

Sophia: What luck! And how was your race?

Marta: An adventure, I mean, much more exciting than I expected because Ricardo Valenzuela also ran, the good-looking guy I met last year in my chemistry class. In the last mile of the marathon he saw me and waved to me.

Sophia: Well that's good! Right?

Marta: Yeah but you know what happened? I waved back to **[him/him]** and then suddenly tripped on something and fell.

Sophia: No way! Then what happened?

Marta: Well, Ricardo saw everything and stopped to help. But Rosa didn't see me fall and kept running. My arm hurt but I was sure I hadn't broken **[it/it]**. After getting up, Ricardo asked me if I wanted to finish the race with him since I now didn't have a partner. I told him to go without me because I knew I couldn't run as fast now.

Sophia: Did he leave without you?

Marta: Well, no. He said he did not care about finishing the marathon fast and after that he took me by the hand and we looked for Rosa. After a few minutes, we found **[her/her]** waiting for me on the sidewalk. Then we all decided to finish the marathon together. We did not set any record, but at least we finished the marathon all alive. Right?

Sophia: Yeah but what happened to your arm?

Marta: It turns out that I really do have a broken arm. You could see a hairline fracture on the x-ray. How embarrassing! Huh? But this morning Ricardo **[has come/came]** to my house to ask if I was okay.

Sophia: Great!

Marta: Yes, so now I do not care I have a broken arm. Plus, now we have dinner plans for next Friday.

Sophia: Well, I'm happy for you.

Marta: Thanks. Well, it's late and I still have a lot of work to do.

Sophia: Me too.

Marta: But I thought you were on vacation... what **[**you do/do you have] to do?

Sophia: I have to clean my apartment. It's a mess and my mother is coming to visit this afternoon!

Marta: Okay. Well, I'm glad to see you.

Sophia: Likewise. Good luck with the date.

Marta: Thank you

Sophia: ...and if you see Carlos, tell him if he does not call me, I'm going to kill **[him/him]**. ok?

Marta: Okay. Well, see you.

Sophia: See you later.

Marta: Goodbye

Appendix G

Written contextualized task – Version B

Diego y Jorge son primos y hablan durante una reunión de familia.

Diego: ¿Qué tal?

Jorge: ¡Bien! ¿Cómo **[tú estás/estás tú]**?

Diego: Pues bien.

Jorge: ¿Estás disfrutando de la reunión de familia?

Diego: Sí mucho. Siempre me gusta ver la familia después de tanto tiempo. ¿Has visto a Pablo?

Jorge: Sí, ¡Qué alto! ¿No? ¡Ha crecido bastante este año! Casi no **[lo/le]** reconocí.

Diego: Yo tampoco. Pablo es demasiado grande para tener solamente 14 años. Pero bueno, ¿y qué tal tú? ¿Estás disfrutando de la reunión?

Jorge: Sobre todo sí. Esta mañana **[he ido/fui]** a dar un paseo en barco.

Diego: ¿De verdad? Me gustaría haber ido contigo. No tengo muchas oportunidades de pasear en barco.

Jorge: Y, ¿Dónde **[tú estabas/estabas tú]**?

Diego: Supongo que estaba durmiendo todavía. Es que tenía mucho sueño esta mañana. Además, no me gusta levantarme temprano durante las vacaciones. Por eso me **[he levantado/levanté]** muy tarde.

Jorge: Pues te perdiste un espectáculo. Vino abuelita Carmen…

Diego: ¿Ah sí? Cuéntame lo que hizo esta vez.

Jorge: Pues, yo ya había salido del muelle (*dock*) y de repente escuché la voz de abuelita gritando de lejos «¡Espérame! ¡Espérame!» **[La/Le]** vi corriendo hacia el muelle.

Jorge: Entonces giré (*I turned*) el barco para volver al muelle. Iba rápido porque tenía muchas ganas de pescar. Pensaba que ella me iba a esperar. Sin embargo, después de algunos segundos de haber llegado al muelle, gritó algo incomprensible. ¡En seguida, **[saltó/ella saltó]** al agua!

Diego: Pues no me sorprende. Todo el mundo sabe que abuelita Carmen está en forma (*is fit*). De hecho, creo que está en mejor forma que yo. Sabes que **[ha corrido/corrió]** en dos maratones el año pasado.

Jorge: ¡¿De verdad?! ¿Y por qué yo no sabía eso?

Diego: Quizás porque a abuela no le gusta jactarse (*brag*) de sus logros (*accomplishments*). Siempre ha sido bastante humilde.

Jorge: Es cierto. Entonces ¿Cómo **[tú te enteraste/te enteraste tú]** de eso?

Diego: La verdad es que no recuerdo. Creo que mi mamá me lo dijo…no sé.

Jorge: Bueno, supongo que no importa mucho.

Diego: Sabías que la semana pasada abuela **[ha venido/vino]** con nosotros para escalar montañas, ¿no?

Jorge: Pues no. Ahora me parece que sé mucho menos de abuela de lo que creía. Pero bueno, ¿Qué tal la excursión?

Diego: Pues abuela es posiblemente la mejor escaladora de la familia. Creo que lleva más de cuarenta años escalando montañas. Por eso en esta excursión de la semana pasada nos **[enseñó/ha enseñado]** las técnicas de escalar y todas las reglas de seguridad. ¡Creo que podría escribir un libro de escalar montañas! Explicó todo mejor que una guía turística (*tour guide*). ¡Aprendí un montón! Luego **[ella escaló/escaló]** el precipicio más rápido que todos.

Jorge: Es súperabuela ¿no? No entiendo de dónde consigue tanta energía. Parece que nunca se cansa. Sabes que el viernes pasado **[la/le]** encontré haciendo una parada de manos (el pino con las manos; *hand stand*).

Diego: Lo creo. Seguro que no es nada para ella. Es como un juego de niños.

Jorge: Además, el jueves pasado **[he visto/vi]** a abuelita hacer varias volteretas hacia atrás (*back flips*).

Jorge: ¿Alguna vez has tratado de hacer una voltereta hacia atrás?

Diego: Pues no.

Jorge: Es mucho más difícil de lo que parece.

Diego: Sabes que ayer **[vi/he visto]** a abuelita enseñando a los primos pequeños a hacer piruetas de lado (*cartwheel*).

Jorge: Bueno, si sabe hacer una voltereta hacia atrás seguro que hacer piruetas de lado no es nada. Pero bueno ¿Qué sé yo? Yo no he hecho nunca ninguna de las dos.

Diego: Yo sé hacer piruetas de lado pero no he podido nunca hacer una voltereta hacia atrás. ¿Sabías que ayer también **[ha ido/fue]** con el grupo para hacer rafting?

Jorge: No, pero bueno. Todavía no he terminado mi historia. Pues, cuando llegó al barco, abuelita me preguntó «¿A dónde vamos?» Le dije que quería pescar en el centro del lago pero que tendríamos que compartir la caña de pescar (*fishing pole*) porque sólo había una pero ella dijo que no le importaba porque no **[le/la]** necesitaba. Así que le pregunté «¿No vas a pescar?» y me respondió «Pues, sí. Ya verás hijo.» No tenía ninguna idea de lo que iba a hacer. Pero bueno, cuando llegamos al centro del lago, yo ya tenía muchas ganas de pescar porque mientras manejaba el barco **[yo veía/veía]** muchos saltar del agua. Sabía que iba a ser diferente que ayer. Normalmente pesco algo aunque sea un pez pequeño que tengo que botar. Pero siempre pesco algo. ¡Pero ayer **[he pescado/pesqué]** 3 horas sin nada de suerte!

Diego: ¡Qué mala suerte!

Jorge: Pero bueno, hoy ha sido muy diferente pero no como esperaba. Mientras yo preparaba la caña, abuelita se puso un traje de buzo (*wetsuit*). No tengo ni idea de dónde **[lo/le]** encontró. ¡Estábamos pescando en un lago, no haciendo buceo de gran profundidad (*deep sea diving*)! No hace falta llevar un traje de buzo. Le

pregunté si todavía quería pescar porque no entendía por qué necesitaba llevar un traje de buzo. De niño, **[yo siempre llevaba/siempre llevaba]** botas altas cuando pescaba en los ríos, pero nunca un traje de buzo.

Diego: Yo ni he llevado botas altas. Pero tampoco pesco mucho. No me gusta el sabor del pescado…

Jorge: Ya lo sé. Pero bueno, al preguntarle ayer si todavía quería pescar, abuelita sólo **[puso/ha puesto]** los ojos en blanco sin decir nada. Después, me preguntó dónde quedaba el arpón (*harpoon*).

Diego: Ah, ok. Ya entiendo. Iba a hacer pesca submarina (*spearfishing*).

Jorge: Es lo que yo pensaba también. Pero me dijo que solo **[lo/le]** necesitaba como un plan B.

Diego: ¡Un plan B! ¿Y cuál era el plan A?

Jorge: Pues ya te diré. No lo vas a creer. ¿Recuerdas que ayer durante el concurso de talento (*talent show*) de la familia tío José **[ha hecho/hizo]** desaparecer las palomas (*doves*)?

Diego: Sí, eso fue increíble. Muchas veces puedo adivinar cómo se hacen los trucos (*tricks*). Pero no pude entender cómo lo hizo esta vez. **[Traté/Yo traté]** de ver dónde escondió las palomas pero todo era en vano (*in vain*). ¡Tío José es el mejor ilusionista (*magician*)! Podría hacer magia profesionalmente. Estoy seguro de que ganaría mucho dinero. De hecho, recuerdo que cuando yo era niño, siempre **[le/lo]** buscaba en las reuniones de familia porque siempre venía con un nuevo truco de magia. Me imagino que yo era un poco pesado (*annoying*) pero era mi héroe. Siempre tenía muchas ganas de ver el nuevo truco. **[Él siempre decía/Siempre decía]** que le gustaba la atención.

Jorge: Es verdad…pero ahora creo que abuelita tiene un talento igual de increíble. De hecho, quizás es aún más increíble. Y la verdad es que no pensaba nunca que diría eso.

Diego: ¿Qué? ¿**[Pescó/Ha pescado]** un pez con los dientes esta mañana?

Jorge: Pues no, pero casi igual de impresionante. ¡Pescó con las manos!

Diego: ¡No me digas! ¡Eso es imposible!

Jorge: Sí, parece imposible pero es verdad. ¿Sabías que abuela pescaba con las manos cuando era niña también? Durante el verano **[iba/ella iba]** al lago cerca de su casa cada fin de semana para hacerlo.

Diego: No sabía eso. ¡Vaya vida! ¿No?

Jorge: ¡Ya te digo! Pescó como diez peces con las manos hoy.

Diego: Pero Jorge, todavía no me has dicho, ¿pescaste algo?

Jorge: Pues sí pesqué (*caught*) algo. ¡**[Pesqué/Yo pesqué]** un pez del tamaño de un pulgar!

Diego: ¿No pescaste nada más?

Jorge: Pues, tuve un pequeño problema con la caña de pescar después de pescar este pececito.

Diego: ¿Qué pasó con la caña?

Jorge: Básicamente **[la/le]** rompí y no tenía arreglo.

(Mientras Diego y Jorge hablaban, llegó la abuela)

Carmen: ¿Quién quiere venir conmigo a hacer paracaidismo?

Appendix H

Written contextualized task – Version B (English translation)

Instructions: Complete the dialogue by selecting the options that you feel sound most natural in each context. Be sure to read the entire dialogue from the beginning to end.

Diego and Jorge are cousins and talk during a family reunion.

Diego: What?

Jorge: Good! **[How you are/How you are?]**

Diego: Well Good. Are you enjoying the family reunion?

Jorge: Are you enjoying the family reunion?

Diego: Yeah, a lot. I always like seeing the family after so much time. Have you seen Paul?

Jorge: Yeah. How tall! Huh? He has grown a lot this year! I almost didn't recognize **[him/him]**.

Diego: Me either. Paul is too big to be only 14 year old. But anyway, how about you? Are you enjoying the reunion?

Jorge: For the most part, yes. This morning I **[have gone/went]** for a boat ride.

Diego: Is that right? I would have liked to have gone with you. I don't have a lot of opportunities to go on boat rides.

Jorge: And where **[you were/were you]**?

Diego: I guess I was still sleeping. It's just that I was very sleepy this morning. Plus, I don't like getting up early during vacation. That's why I **[have gotten/got]** up really late.

Jorge: Well you missed a show. Abuelita Carmen came...

Diego: Oh yeah? Tell me what she did this time.

Jorge: Well, I had already left the dock and all of the sudden I heard the voice of grandma from a distance screaming "Wait for me! Wait for me!" I saw **[her/her]** running towards the dock. Then I turned the boat to return to the dock. I went fast because I was looking forward to fishing. I thought she was going to wait for me. However, after a few seconds of arriving at the dock, shouted something incomprehensible. Then **[jumped/she jumped]** into the water!

Diego: Well I'm not surprised. Everyone knows that Grandma Carmen is in good shape. In fact, I think she's in better shape than I am. You know that she **[has run/ran]** two marathons last year.

Jorge: Really?! Why didn't I know that?

Diego: Maybe because grandma does not like to brag about her accomplishments. She has always been pretty humble.

Jorge: It's true. So how **[did you/you did]** find out about that?

Diego: The truth is I don't remember. I think my mom told me…I don't know.

Jorge: Well, I guess it doesn't really matter.

Diego: You knew that last week grandma **[has come/came]** with us mountain climbing. Right?

Jorge: Well no. Now it seems like I know much less about grandma than I thought. But anyway, How'd the trip go?

Diego: Well grandma is possibly is the best climber the family. I she has been climbing for more than forty years. That's why on our trip last week she **[taught/has taught]** us climbing techniques and all the safety rules. I think she could write a book about climbing mountains! She explained everything better than a tour guide. I learned a lot! Then **[she scaled/scaled]** the cliff faster than everyone.

Jorge: She's super-grandma, huh? I do not understand where so gets so much energy. It seems like she never gets tired. You know that last Friday I found **[her/her]** doing a handstand.

Diego: I believe it. I'm sure it's nothing for her. It's like child's play.

Jorge: Plus, last Thursday I **[have seen/saw]** granny do several backflips.

Jorge: Have you ever tried to do a backflip?

Diego: Well no.

Jorge: It is much more difficult than it seems.

Diego: You know yesterday I **[saw/have seen]** granny teaching the little cousins cartwheels.

Jorge: Well, if she can do a backflip I'm sure a cartwheel is nothing. But what do I know? I haven't done either.

Diego: I know how to do cartwheels but I have never been able to do a backflip. Did you know that yesterday she **[has gone/went]** rafting with the group?

Jorge: No but anyway. I have not finished my story. Well, when she arrived at the boat, granny asked me "Where are we going?" I told her I wanted to fish in the middle of the lake but that we would have to share the fishing rod because there was only one but she said she did not care because she didn't need **[it/it]**. So I asked her "Aren't you going to fish?" And she responded "Well, yes. You'll see, son." I had no idea what she was going to do. Anyway, when we got to the center of the lake, I really wanted to get fishing because while I was driving the boat **[I saw/saw]** a lot of fish jumping out of water. I knew it was going to be different than yesterday. Normally I catch something even if it's only a small fish that I have to throw back. But I always catch something. But yesterday I **[have fished/fished]** for 3 hours without any luck!

Diego: What bad luck!

Jorge: Well, today has been very different but not like I expected. While I got the pole ready, Granny put on a wetsuit. I have no idea where she found **[it/it]**. We were fishing in a lake, not doing deep sea diving! There is no reason to wear a wetsuit. I asked if she still wanted to fish because I didn't understand why she needed to wear a wetsuit. When I was a kid, **[I always wore/always wore]** waders when I fished in rivers, but never a wetsuit.

Diego: I've never worn waders. But then again I don't fish much. I do not like the taste of fish...

Jorge: I already know. But anyway, when I asked her yesterday if he still wanted to fish, granny only **[rolled/has rolled]** her eyes without saying anything. Then she asked me where the harpoon was.

Diego: Oh, ok. I get it. She was going to do spearfishing.

Jorge: That's what I thought too. But she just told me she needed **[it/it]** as a plan B.

Diego: A plan B! What was Plan A?

Jorge: Well, I'll tell you. You will not believe it. Remember yesterday during the family talent show uncle José **[has made/made]** the doves disappear?

Diego: Yeah, that was amazing. Many times I can guess how the tricks are done. But I could not understand how he did this time. **[I tried/Tried]** to see where he hid the doves but all in vain. Uncle José is the best magician! He could do magic professionally. I'm sure he would make a lot of money. In fact, I remember when I was a kid, I always would look for **[him/him]** in the family reunions because he always came with a new magic trick. I guess I was a little annoying but he was my hero. I always couldn't wait to see the new trick. **[He always said/Always said]** he liked the attention.

Jorge: It's true... but now I think Granny has an equally amazing talent. In fact, perhaps it is even more amazing. And the truth is I never thought you'd say that.

Diego: What? **[Did she catch/Has she caught]** fish with her teeth this morning?

Jorge: Well no, but almost as impressive. She fished with his hands!

Diego: No way! That's impossible!

Jorge: Yeah, it does seem impossible but it's true. Did you know what grandma fished with her hands when she was a kid too? In the summer **[would go/she would go]** to the lake by her house every weekend to do it.

Diego: I didn't know what. What a life! Huh?

Jorge: You're tellin' me! She caught like 10 fish with her hands today.

Diego: But Jorge, you still haven't told me. Did you catch anything?

Jorge: Yeah I caught something. **[Caught/I caught]** a fish about the size of my thumb!

Diego: You didn't catch anything else?

Jorge: Well, I had a small problem with the fishing rod after catching the fish.

Diego: What happened to the rod?

Jorge: Basically I broke **[it/it]** beyond repair.

(While Diego and Jorge were talking, Grandma arrived)

Carmen: Who wants to go skydiving with me?

Appendix I

Beginning of Study Abroad Questionnaire

1 Full name (Last, First)

2 E-mail

3 What is the full name of your home university? (e.g. Indiana University - Bloomington)

4 What type of study abroad program are you enrolled in?

- ❍ Liberal Arts
- ❍ Service Learning
- ❍ Business, Economics + Culture
- ❍ Engineering + Society
- ❍ Legal Studies
- ❍ Other

5 In which country are you studying abroad?

- ❍ Spain
- ❍ the Dominican Republic

6 Do you or either of your parents speak a native language other than English?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 7

6.1 Please select the native language(s) that you and your parents speak

	English	Spanish	Other
My native language(s)	❑	❑	❑
Mother's native language(s)	❑	❑	❑
Father's native language(s)	❑	❑	❑

How many years have you studied Spanish in the following levels of education?

	N/A	less than 1 year	1-2 years	2 or more years
Elementary School	❍	❍	❍	❍
Middle/Junior High school	❍	❍	❍	❍
High school	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other	❍	❍	❍	❍

8 Select the type of Spanish courses which you have completed at each level of university study (mark all that apply)

	Grammar	Conversation	Literature	Linguistics	Culture	Other
100-level	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
200-level	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
300-level	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
400-level	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

9 Have you ever attended a school where Spanish was the language of instruction? (e.g. Spanish immersion program) If yes, please explain when and for how long.

- ❍ Yes _____
- ❍ No

10 Previous to this study abroad, have you ever visited/lived in a Spanish-speaking country for 3 weeks or more at one time?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 11

10.1 Please provide the name of each Spanish-speaking country you have visited/lived in along with: the date(s) you lived there (e.g. 2005-2006) the duration of the stay in months and weeks (e.g. 3 months and 2 weeks) your primary purpose(s) for living there (e.g. study abroad, vacation, service, etc.)

	(1) Date(s)	(2) Duration	(3) Purpose(s)
Country #1			
Country #2			
Country #3			

11 In the last year before arriving in Spain/the Dominican Republic, on average, how often did you participate outside of class in the following activities in Spanish?

1	A few times or less a year
2	Once a month
3	A few times a month
4	Once a week
5	A few times or more a week

	1	2	3	4	5
Watching TV, videos or movies in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking Spanish with native speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking Spanish with non-native speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Texting in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reading articles or books in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Listening to music in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Communicating online in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

12 In your opinion, how well are your following skills in Spanish as compared to the other second-language Spanish learners in your Spanish classes?

	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Well Above Average
Understanding	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking	❍	❍	❍	❍

Reading	❍	❍	❍	❍
Pronunciation	❍	❍	❍	❍
Grammar	❍	❍	❍	❍

13 Have you learned any other second languages other than Spanish?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

13.1 Please list them on the left and select your proficiency in each on the right.

Language 1:	❍ Beginner	❍ Intermediate	❍ Advanced
Language 2:	❍ Beginner	❍ Intermediate	❍ Advanced
Language 3:	❍ Beginner	❍ Intermediate	❍ Advanced

14 Please rank your reasons for studying abroad based on importance (click and drag each statement to rearrange order)1 = most important9 = least important

_____ Experience a foreign culture
_____ See the world
_____ Network for my future career
_____ Advance my academic and career trajectory
_____ Explore my heritage
_____ Other
_____ Improve my Spanish
_____ Expand my circle of friends
_____ Other (20)

15 Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the appropriate response.

1	Strongly Disagree
2	Disagree
3	Neither Agree nor Disagree
4	Agree
5	Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
I get along better with my native Spanish-speaking friends than my English-speaking friends	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

The world would be a better place if everyone lived like people from Spain/the Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I don't plan on using Spanish in my future career	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am primarily studying abroad to fulfill at language requirement for my major/minor	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I study Spanish because it is easier to learn than other languages	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I think Spanish spoken in Spain/the Dominican Republic is beautiful	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
It doesn't matter how good my grammar/pronunciation in Spanish is as long as get my point across	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I feel that the speakers from Spain/the Dominican Republic speak Spanish poorly	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I feel nervous when speaking Spanish with native/fluent speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I feel nervous when speaking Spanish with my classmates in Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I make a conscious effort to pronounce words like a native when I speak Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I make a conscious effort to use correct grammar when I speak Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

16 The reason I chose to study abroad in Spain/the Dominican Republic as opposed to other Spanish-speaking countries is because...(mark all that apply)

- ❑ It was more economical
- ❑ The courses offered
- ❑ I was encouraged to study in Spain/the Dominican Republic
- ❑ I find Spain/the Dominican Republic's culture more interesting than others
- ❑ Spain/the Dominican Republic is more exotic than other Spanish-speaking countries
- ❑ I think learning the dialect of Spanish spoken in Spain/the Dominican Republic will be useful in the future
- ❑ I want to learn to speak Spanish like people from Spain/the Dominican Republic
- ❑ I assumed the local people would be friendly
- ❑ Other _____
- ❑ Other _____

17 Are you aware of any specific dialectal attributes of the Spanish spoken in Spain/the Dominican Republic? (e.g. peculiarities with regard to pronunciation, grammar, etc.)

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

17.1 Please describe what specific dialectal attributes of the Spanish spoken in Spain/the Dominican Republic you are aware of:

Questionnaire item organization - Beginning of Study Abroad Questionnaire

1-5	Study abroad student/program information
6-6.1	Other native languages
7-8	Previous course enrollment
9	Experience in immersion school
10-10.1	Previous experience abroad
11	Exposure to Spanish before study abroad
12	Proficiency (self-reported)
13-13.1	Experience with other second languages
14	1-3 (integrative), 4-6 (instrumental), 7 (personal enjoyment)
15	1-4 (attitude), 5-7 (instrumental), 8-10 (form vs. function learning), 11-12 (anxiety)
16	1-3 (practical), 4-6 (cultural/country), 7-8 (dialect)
17-17.1	Dialectal feature awareness

Appendix J

End of Study Abroad Questionnaire

1 Full name (Last, First):

2 E-mail:

3 In which country are you studying abroad?

- ❍ Spain
- ❍ The Dominican Republic

4 In your opinion, compared to the other students studying abroad with you, how well do you currently perform at the following skills in Spanish?

	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Well Above Average
Understanding	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reading	❍	❍	❍	❍
Pronunciation	❍	❍	❍	❍
Grammar	❍	❍	❍	❍

5 Now that you have studied abroad, how would your characterize your motivation to continue using and learning Spanish?

- ❍ Increased greatly
- ❍ Increased somewhat
- ❍ Stayed the same
- ❍ Decreased a little
- ❍ Decreased a lot

Please respond to the following survey questions regarding your activities outside of class during the study abroad:

6 What portion of the people you spent time with were native speakers of Spanish?

- ❍ 100%
- ❍ 75%
- ❍ 50%
- ❍ 25%
- ❍ Very few or none

7 How often did you participate in the following activities IN SPANISH?

1	Less than Once a Month
2	Once a Month
3	2-3 Times a Month
4	Once a Week
5	2-3 Times a Week
6	Daily
7	2 or more Times a Day

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Watching TV, movies or videos	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Listening to music	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reading (books, news, etc.)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to native Spanish speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to NON-native speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

8 When you participated in the following activities IN SPANISH, how much time did you spend on average?

1	N/A
2	1-15 minutes
3	15-30 minutes
4	30 min. -1 hour
5	1-2 hours
6	More than 2 hours

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Watching TV, movies or videos	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Listening to music	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reading (books, news, etc.)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to native Spanish speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to NON-native speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

9 How often did you participate in the following activities IN ENGLISH?

1	Less than Once a Month
2	Once a Month
3	2-3 Times a Month
4	Once a Week
5	2-3 Times a Week
6	Daily
7	2 or more Times a Day

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Watching TV, movies or videos	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Listening to music	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reading (books, news, etc.)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to native Spanish speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Speaking to native English speakers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

10 List the people with whom you had extended conversations in SPANISH (more than 20 minutes) as well as the frequency of these conversations during your study abroad. In the space provided, please provide the speakers sex (M or F), age (rough estimate), and their relationship to you (e.g. host mother, friend, classmate, program director, mom, etc.) Click the box in the 'Native speaker?' column if the person is a native speaker of Spanish

1	Rarely
2	A few times a month
3	Once a week
4	2-3 times a week
5	4-5 times a week
6	Daily

	Native speaker?	1	2	3	4	5	6
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

11 List the people with whom you had extended conversations in ENGLISH (more than 20 minutes) as well as the frequency of these conversations during your study abroad. In the space provided, please provide the speakers *sex* (M or F), *age* (rough estimate), and their *relationship* to you (e.g. host mother, friend, classmate, program director, mom, etc.) Click the box in the 'Native speaker?' column if the person is a native speaker of Spanish

1	Rarely
2	A few times a month
3	Once a week
4	2-3 times a week
5	4-5 times a week
6	Daily

	Native speaker?	1	2	3	4	5	6
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
sex, age, relationship	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

12 Do you think your gender had any influence on the nature of your experience in Spain/Dominican Republic? In other words, did it facilitate or hinder your language learning opportunities?

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Please rank each statement about how ...

12.1 Please explain why you feel your gender facilitated or hindered your language learning opportunities:

13 Please rank how you have benefited from studying abroad based on importance:

1 = most important; 9 = least important

_____ Experienced a foreign culture
_____ Saw the world
_____ Networked for my future career
_____ Advanced my academic and career trajectory
_____ Explored my heritage
_____ Improved my Spanish
_____ Expanded my circle of friends
_____ Other
_____ Other

14 Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the appropriate response.

1	Strongly Disagree
2	Disagree
3	Neither Agree nor Disagree
4	Agree
5	Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
I will use Spanish in my future career	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am primarily studying abroad to fulfill a language requirement for my major/minor	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I study Spanish because it is easier to learn than other languages	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
It doesn't matter how good my grammar/pronunciation in Spanish is as long as get my point across	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
When I speak Spanish, I make an effort to use correct grammar	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I make a conscious effort to pronounce words like a native when I speak Spanish	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

The world would be a better place if everyone lived like people from Spain/Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
On average, the people of Spain/Dominican Republic are friendly	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The CIEE program directors/administrators have been very helpful	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
After I return home, I plan on keeping in touch with my friends from Spain/Dominican Republic by phone and/or Skype.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

15 Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the appropriate response.

1	Strongly Disagree
2	Disagree
3	Neither Agree nor Disagree
4	Agree
5	Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel nervous when speaking Spanish with a fluent/native speaker	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I feel nervous when speaking Spanish with my classmates	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I think Spanish spoken in Spain/Dominican Republic is beautiful	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I have tried to learn to speak Spanish like a native speaker from Spain/Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The dialect of Spain/Dominican Republic is easy to understand	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
After studying abroad I would love to return and live in Spain/Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I would recommend studying abroad in Spain/ Dominican Republic to my friends	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am fascinated by the culture of Spain/Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I now have many close friends from Spain/ Dominican Republic	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I got along well with the members of my host family (if applicable)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

16 Are you aware of any specific dialectal attributes of the Spanish spoken in Spain/Dominican Republic? (e.g. peculiarities with regard to pronunciation, grammar, etc.)

- ❍ Yes
- ❍ No

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

16.1 Please describe what specific dialectal attributes of the Spanish spoken in Spain/Dominican Republic you are aware of.

Questionnaire item organization - End of Study Abroad Questionnaire

1-3	Study abroad student/program information
4	Proficiency (self-reported)
5	Motivation change
6-12	Contact with Spanish and English
13-13.1	Effects of gender
14	1-3 (integrative), 4-6 (instrumental), 7 (personal enjoyment)
15	1-3 (instrumental), 4-6 (learning), 7-8 (location: people/culture), 9 (CIEE)
16	1-2 (anxiety), 3-5 (country dialect), 6-9 (location: people/culture/ integration)
17-17.1	Dialectal feature awareness

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

Indiana University, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Bloomington, Indiana
Ph.D., Hispanic Linguistics, June 2016; **M.A.**, May 2011
- Areas of Specialization: Second Language Acquisition, Sociolinguistics, Phonetics/Phonology
- Selected Honors/Awards: Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Dissertation Research Travel Grant, Agapito Rey Summer Fellowships

University of Montana, Missoula, Montana
M.A., Spanish Linguistics & Literatures, May 2009
- Area of Specialization: Second Language Acquisition

Brigham Young University - Idaho, Rexburg, Idaho
B.S., Integrated Studio Art, December 2006
- Area of Specialization: Graphic Design
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EXPERIENCE

Grand Valley State University, Allendale, MI
- *Instructor of Spanish,* August 2015-present

Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
- *Associate Instructor,* August 2009 - June 2014

The University of Montana, Missoula, MT
- *Teaching Assistant,* August 2007 - May 2009

BYU-Idaho, Rexburg, ID
- *Spanish Tutor,* June 2006 – August 2006

Madison Middle School, Rexburg, ID
- *Spanish Teacher* (5th grade), September 2004 - June 2005